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THE ANCIENT

HISTORY

OF THE

EGYPTIANS, CARTHAGINIANS,

ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,
MEDES and PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS,

AND

GRECIANS.

By Mr. ROLLIN, late Principal of the University of Paris, now Professor of Eloquence in the Royal College, and Member of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres.

Translated from the FRENCH.

VOL. V.

The SECOND EDITION, Corrected.

LONDON:

Printed for John and PAUL KNAPTON, at the Crown in Ludgate-Street. M.DCCXXXIX.

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BOOK X. Continued.

Religion, Oracles, Games, Prizes of Wit and Valour, &c. of the Ancient Grecians. Progress of Dramatic Poetry. Ancient, Middle, and New Comedy, Theatre of the Ancients, &c.

BOOK XI.

History of Dionysius the Elders and Younger. Plato in Sicily. Dion. Expulsion of Dionysius the Younger. Dion's great Actions, Death and Character.

BOOK XII.

Treaty of Antalcides, Conspiracy

of Pelopidas. War between Thebes and Sparta, under Epaminondas, Agefilaus, &c. Nicocles, Iphicrates, Chabrias, Chares. Death of Artaxerxes Mnemon. Causes of the Revolts and Declension of the Persian Empire.

BOOK XIII.

War of the Allies against Athens,
Mausolus and Artemisa. Reign
of Artaxerxes, Ochus, Darius
Codomanus, Timoleon's Great
Actions. Life of Demosthenes,
Manner of fitting out Fleets by
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right of the Divinity.

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Of RELIGION.

T may be observed hitherto, and will be further remarkable as we proceed, that in all ages and regions the feveral nations of the world, however various and opposite in their characters, inclinations, and manners, have always united in one effential point; the inherent opinion of an adoration due to a supreme being, and of external methods necessary to evidence such a belief. Into whatever country we cast our eyes, we find priests, altars, facrifices, fe-Mivals, religious ceremonies, temples or places confecrated to religious worship. In every people we discover a reverence and awe of the divinity; an homage and honour paid to him, and an open profession of an entire dependance upon him in all their undertakings and necessities, in all their adversities and dangers. Incapable of themselves to penetrate futurity, WOL. V.

and to afcertain events in their own favour, we find them intent upon confulting the Divinity by oracles, and by other methods of a like nature; and to merit his protection by prayers, vows, and offerings. It is by the same supreme authority they believe the most folemn treaties are rendered inviolable. It is that gives fanction to their oaths; and to that by imprecations is referred the punishment of such crimes and enormities, as escape the knowledge and power of men. their private occasions, voyages, journeys, marriages, diseases, the Divinity is still invoked. With him their every repast begins and ends. No war is declared, no battle fought, no enterprize formed, without his aid being first implored; to which the glory of the success is constantly ascribed by publick acts of thanksgiving, and by the oblation of the most precious of the spoils. which they never fail to fet apart as the indispensable right of the Divinity.

They never vary in regard to the foundation of this belief. If some sew persons, deprayed by bad philosophy, presume from time to time to rise up against this doctrine, they are immediately disclaimed by the publick voice. They continue singular and alone, without making parties, or forming sects: The whole weight of the publick authority falls upon them; a price is set upon their heads; whilst they are universally regarded as execrable persons, the bane of civil society, with whom it is criminal to have any kind of

commerce.

So general, so uniform, so perpetual a consent of all the nations of the universe, which neither the prejudice of the passions, the salse reasoning of some philosophers, nor the authority and example of certain princes, have ever been able to weaken or vary, can proceed only from a first principle, which shares in the nature of man; from an inherent sense implanted in his heart by the author of his being, and from an original tradition as antient as the world itself.

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the antients; truly worthy of man, had he been capable of perfishing in the purity and simplicity of these first principles: but the errors of the mind, and the vices of the heart, those sad effects of the corruption of human nature, strangely disfigured their original beauty. They are but seint rays, small sparks of light, that a general depravity does not utterly extinguish; but they are incapable of dispelling the profound darkness of a night, which prevails almost universally, and presents nothing to view, but absurdates, follies, extravagancies, licentiousness, and disorder, in a word, an hideous chaos of frantick excesses and enormous vices.

Can any thing be more admirable than these maxims of Cicero*? That we ought above all things to be convinced that there is a supreme being, who pressides over all the events of the world, and disposes every thing as sovereign lord and arbiter: that it is to him mankind are indebted for all the good they enjoy; that he penetrates into, and is conscious of, whatever passes in the most secret recesses of our hearts: that he treats the just and the impious according to their respective merits: that the true means of acquiring his favour, and of being pleasing in his sight, is not by the use of riches and magnissicence in his worship, but by presenting him an heart pure and blameless, and by adoring him with an unseigned and prosound veneration.

Sentiments so sublime and religious were the result of the reslections of the sew, who employed themselves in the study of the heart of man, and in tracing him to the first principles of his institution, of which they still retained some happy, though impersect, ideas.

^{*} Sit hoc jam à principio perfuasum civibus: dominos esse omnium rerum ac moderatores deos, eaque quæ geruntur eorum geri judicio ac numine; eosdemque optimè de genere hominum mereri; et, qualis quisque sit, quid agat,

quid in se admittat, qua mente, qua pietate religiones colat, intueri; piorumque et impiorum habere rationem—Ad divos adeunto caste. Pietatem adhibento, opes amovento. Cic. de leg. 1, 2, 11, 15 & 19.

But the whole system of their religion, the tendency of their public feafts and ceremonies, the foul of the Pagan Theology, of which the poets were the only teachers and professors, the very example of the gods, whose violent passions, scandalous adventures, and abominable crimes were celebrated in their hymns or odes. and proposed in some measure to the imitation, as well as adoration, of the people; these were certainly very unfit means to enlighten the minds of men, and to form them to virtue and morality.

It is remarkable, that in the greatest solemnities of the Pagan religion, and in their most facred and reverend mysteries, far from perceiving any thing to recommend virtue, piety, or the practice of the most essential duties of ordinary life, we find the authority of laws, the imperious power of custom, the presence of magistrates, the assembly of all orders of the state, the example of fathers and mothers, all conspire to train up a whole nation from their infancy in an impure and facrilegious worship, under the name and in a manner under the fanction of religion itself; as

we shall foon fee in the fequel.

After these general reflections upon Paganism, it is time to proceed to a particular account of the religion of the Greeks. I shall reduce this subject, though infinite in itself, to four articles, which are, 1. The feafts. 2. The oracles, augurs, and divinations. 3. The games and combats. 4. The publick shews and representations of the theatre. In each of these articles, I shall treat only of what appears most worthy of the reader's curiofity, and has most relation to this history. I omit faying any thing of facrifices, having given a fufficient idea of them * elfewhere. 11 111

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^{*} Manner of teaching, &sc. Vol. I.

ARTICLE I.

Of the feasts.

A N infinite number of feasts were celebrated in the several cities of Greece, and especially at Athens, of which I shall only describe three of the most famous, the Panathenea, the feasts of Bacchus, and those of Eleusis.

SECT. I. The Panathenea.

THIS feast was celebrated at Athens in honour of Minerva, the tutelary goddess of that city, to which she gave her * name, as well as to the feast we speak of. Its institution was antient, and it was called at first Athenea; but after Theseus had united the several towns of Attica into one city, it took the name of Panathenea. These feasts were of two kinds, the great and the less, which were solemnized with almost the same ceremonies; the less annually, and the great upon the expiration of every fourth year.

In these seasts were exhibited racing, the Gymnic combats, and the contentions for the prizes of music and poetry. Ten commissaries elected from the ten tribes presided on this occasion to regulate the forms, and distribute the rewards to the victors. This sesti-

val continued several days.

The first day in the morning a race was run on foot, each of the runners carrying a lighted torch in his hand, which they exchanged continually with each other without interrupting their race. They started from Ceramicus, one of the suburbs of Athens, and crossed the whole city. The first that came to the goal, without having put out his torch, carried the prize. In the afternoon they ran the same course on horseback.

The Gymnic, or Athletic combats followed the races. The place for that exercise was upon the banks

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^{* &#}x27;Aduyn.

of the Ilissus, a small river, which runs through Athens, and empties itself into the sea at the Piræus.

Pericles instituted the prize of music. In this dispute were sung the praises of Harmodius and Aristogiton, who delivered Athens from the tyranny of the Pisistratides; to which was afterwards added the elogium of Thrasibulus, who expelled the thirty tyrants. These disputes were not only warm amongst the musicians, but much more so amongst the poets, and it was highly glorious to be declared victor in them. Æschylus is reported to have died with grief upon seeing the prize adjudged to Sophocles, who was much younger than himself.

These exercises were followed by a general procession, wherein a sail was carried with great pomp and ceremony, on which were curiously delineated the warlike actions of Pallas against the Titans and giants. That sail was affixed to a vessel, which was called by the name of the goddess. The vessel, equipped with sails and with a thousand oars, was conducted from Ceramicus to the temple of Eleusis, not by horses or beasts of draught, but by machines concealed in the bottom of it, which put the oars in motion, and made

the vessel glide along.

The march was solemn and majestic. At the head of it were old men, who carried olive-branches in their hands, θωλοφόροι; and these were chosen for the goodness of their shape and the vigour of their complexion. Athenian matrons, of great age also, ac-

companied them in the fame equipage.

They were armed at all points, and had bucklers and lances. After them came the strangers, that inhabited Athens, carrying mattocks, instruments proper for tillage. Next followed the Athenian women of the same age, attended by the foreigners of their own sex, carrying vessels in their hands for the drawing of water.

The third class was composed of the young persons

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of both sexes, and of the best families in the city. The youth wore vests, with crowns upon their heads, and fang a peculiar hymn in honour of the goddess. The maids carried baskets, in which were placed the facred utenfils proper to the ceremony, covered with veils to keep them from the fight of the spectators. The person, to whose care those facred things were entrusted, was to have observed an exact continence for several days before he touched them, or distributed them to the Athenian virgins; * or rather, as Demosthenes says, his whole life and conduct ought to have been a perfect model of virtue and purity. was an high honour to a young woman to be chosen for fo noble and august an office, and an insupportable affront to be deemed unworthy of it. We have feen, that Hipparchus treated the fister of Harmodius with this indignity, which extremely incenfed the conspirators against the Pisistratides. These Athenian virgins were followed by the foreign young women, who carried umbrella's and feats for them.

The children of both fexes closed the pomp of the

procession.

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In this august ceremony, the juduloù were appointed to sing certain verses of Homer; a manisest proof of their estimation for the works of that poet, even with regard to religion. Hipparchus, son of Pisistratus, first introduced that custom.

I have observed elsewhere, that in the Gymnic games of this feast an herald proclaimed, that the people of Athens had conferred a crown of gold upon the celebrated physician Hippocrates, in gratitude for the signal services, which he had rendered the state during the pestilence.

In this festival the people of Athens put themselves, and the whole republic under the protection of Minerva, the tutelary goddess of their city, and implored of her all kind of prosperity. From the battle

B 4

^{*} Ουχί προειρημένον ήμερῶν βίον όλον ήγνευκέναι. Demost. ἀριθμὸν ἀγνέυειν μόνον, ἀλλὰ τ in extrema Aristocratia.

of Marathon, in these public acts of worship, express mention was made of the Platæans, and they were joined in all things with the people of Athens.

SECT. II. Feasts of Bacchus.

THE worship of Bacchus had been brought out of Egypt to Athens, where several feasts had been established in honour of that god; two particularly more remarkable than all the rest, called the great and the less feasts of Bacchus. The latter were a kind of preparation for the former, and were celebrated in the open field about autumn. They were named Lenea, from a Greek word (a) that signifies a wine-press. The great seasts were commonly called Dionysia, from one of the names of that god (b), and were solemnized in the spring within the city.

In each of these seasts the public were entertained with games, shews and dramatic representations, which were attended with a vast concourse of people, and exceeding magnificence; as will be seen hereaster. At the same time the poets disputed the prize of poetry, submitting to the judgment of arbitrators expressly chosen, their pieces, whether tragic or comic, which

were then represented before the people.

These seasts continued many days. Those, who were initiated, mimicked whatever the poets had thought fit to seign of the god Bacchus. They covered themselves with the skins of wild beasts, carried a Thyrsus in their hands, a kind of pike with ivy-leaves twisted round it. They had drums, horns, pipes, and other instruments proper to make a great noise; and wore upon their heads wreaths of ivy and vine-branches, and of other trees facred to Bacchus. Some represented Silenus, some Pan, others the Satyrs, all drest in suitable masquerade. Many of them were mounted on asses; others dragged * goats along for facrifices. Men and women ridiculously trans-

(a) Anrès. (b) Dionysus.

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^{*} Goats were facrificed because they spoiled the wines.

formed in this manner, appeared night and day in public; and imitating drunkenness, and dancing with the most indecent postures, ran in throngs about the mountains and forests, screaming and howling furiously; the women especially seemed more outragious than the men; and quite out of their fenses in their + furious transports, invoked the god, whose feast they celebrated, with loud cries: ¿voi Bangs, or & langs, or ToBaxxe, or Tw Baxxe.

This troop of Bacchanalians was followed by the virgins of the noblest families in the city, who were called xarnpopos, from carrying baskets on their heads,

covered with vine and ivy leaves.

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To these ceremonies others were added, obscene to the last excess, and worthy of the god, who could be honoured in such a manner. The spectators were no schismatics: They gave into the prevailing humour, and were seized with the same frantic spirit, Nothing was feen but dancing, drunkenness, debauchery, and all that the most abandoned licentiousness could conceive of gross and abominable. And this an entire people. reputed the wifest of all Greece, not only suffered, but admired and practifed. I fay an entire people; for | Plato speaking of the Bacchanals, fays in direct terms, that he had feen the whole city of Athens drunk at once.

(c) Livy informs us, that this licentiousness of the Bacchanalians having fecretly crept into Rome, the most horrid disorders were committed there under the cover of the night; besides which, all persons, who were initiated into these impure and abominable mysteries, were obliged, under the most horrid imprecations, to keep them inviolably fecret. The fenate, being apprized of the affair, put a stop to those facrilegious feafts by the most severe penalties; and first

(c) Liv. l. 39. n. 8, 18.

⁺ From this fury of the Bacchanalians these feasts were called λιν περί τα Διονύσια μεθύκσαν. Orgia. Opyn, ira, furor.

Πάσαν έθεασαμιην την πο-Lib. 1. de leg. p. 637.

banished the practisers of them from Rome, and afterwards from Italy. These examples inform us, * how far a mistaken sense of religion, that covers the greatest crimes with the facred name of the Divinity, is capable of misseading the mind of man.

SECT. III. The feast of Eleufis.

THERE is nothing in all the Pagan antiquity more celebrated than the feast of Ceres Eleusina. The ceremonies of this festival were called by way of eminence, the mysteries; from being, according to Paufanias, as much above all others, as the gods are above Their origin and institution are attributed to Ceres herfelf; who, in the reign of Erechtheus, coming to Eleusis, a small town of Attica, in search of her daughter Proferpine, whom Pluto had carried away, and finding the country afflicted with a famine. she invented corn as a remedy for that evil, with which The rewarded the inhabitants. + She not only taught them the use of corn, but instructed them in the principles of probity, charity, civility, and humanity; from whence her mysteries were called 9:0 μο φόρια and To these first happy lessons fabulous antiquity ascribed the courtefy, politeness, and urbanity, so remarkable amongst the Athenians.

These mysteries were divided into the less and the greater; of which the former served as a preparation for the latter. The less were solemnized in the month Anthesterion, which answers to our November; the

* Nihil in speciem fallaciùs est quam prava religio, ubi deorum numen prætenditur sceleribus. Liv. ibid. n. 16.

† Multa eximia divinaque videntur Athenæ tuæ peperisse, atque in vitam hominum attulisse; tum nihil melius illis mysteriis, quibus ex agressi immanique vita exculti ad humanitatem et mitigati sumus, initiaque ut appellantur, ita re vera principia vitæ cognovimus. Cic. 1. 2. de leg. n. 36.

Teque Ceres, et Libera, quarum facra, ficut opiniones hominum ac religiones ferunt, longè maximis atque occultifiimis ceremoniis continentur: à quibus initia vitæ atque victus, legum, morum, mansuetudinis, humanitatis exempla hominibus et civitatibus data ac dispertita esse dicuntur. Id. Cic. in Verr. de supplic. n. 186.

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Athenians were admitted to these mysteries; but of them each sex, age, and condition had a right to be received. All strangers were absolutely excluded; so that Hercules, Castor and Pollux, were obliged to be adopted by Athenians in order to their admission; which however extended only to the lesser mysteries. I shall consider principally the great, which were celebrated at Eleusis.

Those who demanded to be initiated into them, were obliged before their reception to purify themselves in the lesser mysteries, by bathing in the river Ilistus, by faying certain prayers, offering facrifices, and above all by living in a strict continence during an interval of time prescribed them. That time was employed in instructing them in the principles and elements of the facred doctrine of the great mysteries.

When the time for their initiation arrived, they were brought into the temple; and to inspire the greater reverence and terror, the ceremony was performed in the night. Wonderful things passed upon this occasion. Visions were seen, and voices heard of an extraordinary kind. A fudden splendor dispelled the darkness of the place, and disappearing immediately, added new horrors to the gloom. Apparitions, claps of thunder, earthquakes improved the terror and amazement; whilst the person admitted, stupid, sweating through fear, heard trembling the mysterious volumes read to him, if in such a condition he was capable of hearing at all. These nocturnal rites were attended with many disorders, which the severe law of filence, imposed upon the persons initiated, prevented from coming to light, * as St. Gregory Nazianzen observes. What cannot superstition effect upon the mind of man, when once his imagination is heated? The president in this ceremony was called

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^{*} Οίδεν 'Ελευτίν ταῦτα, κὰ ὄντων ἀξίων ἐπόπται. Orat. de οι τῶν σιωπωμένων κὰ σιωπης facr. lumin.

Hierophantes. He wore a peculiar habit, and was not admitted to marry. The first who served in this function, and whom Ceres herself instructed, was Eumolpus; from whom his successors were called Eumolpides. He had three collegues; (d) one who carried a torch; another an herald, (e) whose office was to pronounce certain mysterious words, and a third to attend at the altar.

Besides these officers, one of the principal magistrates of the city was appointed to take care that all the ceremonies of this feast were exactly observed. He was called the king (f), and was one of the nine Archons. His business was to offer prayers and sacrifices. The people gave him four affistants (g), one chosen from the samily of the Eumolpides, a second from that of the Cerycians, and the two last from two other samilies. He had, besides, ten other ministers to affist him in the discharge of his duty, and particularly in offering sacrifices, from whence they

derived their name (b).

The Athenians initiated their children of both fexes very early into these mysteries, and would have thought it criminal to have let them die without such an advantage. It was their general opinion, that this ceremony was an engagement to lead a more virtuous and regular life; that it recommended them to the peculiar protection of the goddesses, to whose service they devoted themselves; and was the means to a more perfect and certain happiness in the other world: whilst on the contrary, such as had not been initiated, besides the evils they had to apprehend in this life, were doomed after their descent to the shades below, to wallow eternally in dirt, filth and excrement. (i) Diogenes the Cynic believed nothing of the matter, and when his friends endeavoured to perfuade him to avoid fuch a misfortune by being initiated before

(g) Επιμελιτάι.
 (i) Diogen. Liert, l. 6. p. 389.

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his death; What, faid he, shall Agesilaus and Epaminondas lie amongst mud and dung, whilst the vilest Athenians, because they have been initiated, possess the most distinguished places in the regions of the blessed? Socrates was not more credulous. He would not be initiated into these mysteries; which was perhaps one reason, that rendered his religion suspected.

(k) Without this qualification none were admitted to enter the temple of Ceres; and Livy informs us of two Acarnanians, who, having followed the crowd into it upon one of the feaft-days, although out of mistake and with no ill design, were both put to death without mercy. It was also a capital crime to divulge the fecrets and mysteries of this feast. Upon this account Diagoras the Melian was proscribed, and had a reward set upon his head. He intended to have made the fecret cost the poet Æschylus his life, from fpeaking too freely of it in some of his tragedies. The difgrace of Alcibiades proceeded from the same cause. * Whoever had violated the fecret was avoided as a wretch accurfed, and excommunicated. (1) Paufanias in feveral passages, wherein he mentions the temple of Eleusis, and the ceremonies practifed there, stops fhort, and declares he cannot proceed, because he had been forbade by a dream or vision.

This feast, the most celebrated of prophane antiquity, was of nine days continuance. It began the fifteenth of the month Boedromion. After some previous ceremonies and sacrifices on the first three days,

(k) Liv. 1. 31. n. 14.

(1) Lib. 1. p. 26 & 71.

Est et sideli tuta silentio
Merces. Vetabo qui Cereris sacrum
Vulgarit arcanæ, sub iisdem
Sit trabibus, fragilemque mecum
Solvat phaselum.

Hor. Od. 2. 1. 3.

Safe is the filent tongue, which none can blame,
The faithful Secret merit fame:
Beneath one roof ne'er let him rest with me,
Who Ceres my let reveals,

In one frail bark ne'er let us put to sea,

Nor tempt the jarring winds with spreading sails.

upon the fourth in the evening began the procession of the Basket; which was laid upon an open chariot slow-ly drawn by oxen *, and sollowed by great numbers of the Athenian women. They all carried mysterious baskets in their hands, silled with several things, which they took great care to conceal, and covered with a veil of purple. This ceremony represented the basket, into which Proserpine put the flowers she was gathering, when Pluto seized and carried her off.

The fifth day was called the day of the Torches; because at night the men and women ran about with them in imitation of Ceres, who having lighted a torch at the fire of mount Ætna, wandered about

from place to place in fearch of her daughter.

The fixth was the most famous day of all. It was called Iacchus, the name of Bacchus, fon of Jupiter and Ceres, whose statue was then brought out with great ceremony, crowned with myrtle, and holding a torch in its hand. The procession began at Ceramicus, and passing through the principal places of the city, continued to Eleusis. The way leading to it was called the facred way, and lay cross a bridge over the river Cephifus. This procession was very numerous and generally confifted of thirty thousand persons. (m) The temple of Eleusis, where it ended, was large enough to contain the whole multitude; and Strabo fays, its extent was equal to that of theatres, which every body knows were capable of holding a much greater number of people. The whole way refounded with the found of trumpets, clarions, and other musical instruments. Hymns were fung in honour of the goddesses, accompanied with dancing, and other extraordinary marks of rejoicing. The rout beforementioned, through the facred way and over the Cephifus, was the usual way: but after the Lacedæmo-

(m) Her. l. 8. c. 65. l. 9. p. 395.

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Virg. Geor. lib. 1. ver. 163.

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^{*} Tardaque Eleusinæ matris volventia plaustra.

nians in the Peloponnesian war had fortified Decelia, the Athenians were obliged to make their procession by sea, till Alcibiades re-established the antient custom.

The feventh day was folemnized by games, and the Gymnic combats, in which the victor was rewarded with a measure of barley, without doubt because it was at Eleusis the goddess first taught the method of raising that grain, and the use of it. The two sollowing days were employed in some particular cere-

monies, neither important nor remarkable.

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During this festival it was prohibited under very great penalties to arrest any person whatsoever, in order to their being imprisoned, or to present any bill of complaint to the judges. It was regularly celebrated every fifth year, that is, after a revolution of four years; and no history observes that it was ever interrupted, except upon the taking of Thebes by Alexander the Great (n). The Athenians, who were then upon the point of celebrating the great mysteries, were fo much affected with the ruin of that city, that they could not refolve in fo general an affliction to folemnize a festival, which breathed nothing but merriment and rejoicing. (o) It was continued down to the time of the christian emperors; and Valentinian would have abolished it, if Prætextatus, the proconful of Greece, had not represented, in the most lively and affecting terms, the universal forrow, which the abrogation of that feaft would occasion among the people; upon which it was suffered to subsist. It is supposed to have been finally suppressed by Theodosius the Great; as were all the rest of the Pagan solemnities.

ARTICLE II.

Of Augurs, Oracles, &c.

NOTHING is more frequently mentioned in antient history, than oracles, augurs, and divi-

(n) Plut. in vit. Alex. p. 671,

(0) Zofim. hift. 1. 4.

nations.

nations. No war was made, or colony fettled; nothing of consequence was undertaken, either public or private, without the gods being first consulted. This was a custom universally established amongst the Egyptian, Affyrian, Grecian, and Roman nations; which is no doubt a proof, as has been already observed, of its being derived from antient tradition, and that it had its origin in the religion and worship of the true God. It is not indeed to be questioned but that God before the deluge did manifest his will to mankind in different methods, as he has fince done to his people, sometimes in his own person and viva voce, fometimes by the ministry of angels or of prophets inspired by himself, and at other times by apparitions or in dreams. When the descendants of Noah dispersed themselves into different regions, they carried this tradition along with them, which was every where retained, though altered and corrupted by the darkness and ignorance of idolatry. None of the antients have infifted more upon the necessity of confulting the gods on all occasions by augurs and oracles than Xenophon; and he founds that necessity, as I have more than once observed elsewhere, upon a principle deduced from the most refined reason and discernment. He represents, in several places, that man of himself is very frequently ignorant of what is advantagious or pernicious to him; that far from being capable of penetrating the future, the present itself escapes him, so narrow and short-sighted is he in all his views; that the flightest obstacles can frustrate his greatest designs; that only the divinity, to whom all ages are present, can impart a certain knowledge of the future to him; that no other being has power to facilitate the success of his enterprizes, and that it is reasonable to believe he will guide and protect those, who adore him with the purelt affection, who invoke him at all times with greatest constancy and fidelity, and confult him with most fincerity and refignation.

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SECT. I. Of Augurs.

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WHAT a reproach is it to human reason, that so bright and suminous a principle should have given birth to the abfurd reasonings, and wretched notions in favour of the science of augurs and soothfavers, and been the occasion of espousing with blind devotion the most ridiculous puerilities: To make the most important affairs of state depend upon a bird's happening to fing upon the right or left hand; upon the greediness of chickens in pecking their grain; the inspection of the entrails of beasts; the liver's being intire and in good condition, which, according to them, did fometimes entirely disappear, without leaving any trace or mark of its having ever subsisted! To these superstitious observances may be added, accidental rencounters, words spoken by chance, and afterwards turned into good or bad prefages, forebodings, prodigies, monsters, eclipses, comets, every extraordinary phænomenon, every unforefeen accident, with an infinity of chimæras of the like nature.

Whence could it happen, that so many great men, illustrious generals, able politicians, and even learned philosophers, have actually given into such absurd imaginations? Plutarch, in particular, so estimable in other respects, is to be pitied for his service observance of the senseless customs of the Pagan idolatry, and his ridiculous credulity in dreams, signs, and prodigies. He tells us somewhere, that he abstained a great while from eating eggs upon account of a dream, with which he has not thought sit to make us further acquainted.

The wisest of the Pagans did not want a just sense of the art of divination, and often spoke of it to each other, and even in public, with the utmost contempt, and in a manner sufficiently expressive of its ridicule. The grave censor Cato was of opinion, that one soothsayer could not look at another without laughing. Hannibal was amazed at the simplicity of Prusias,

whom

whom he had advised to give battle, upon his being diverted from it by the inspection of the entrails of a victim. What, faid he, have you more confidence in the liver of a beaft, than in folold and experienced a captain, as I am? Marcellus, who had been five times conful, and was augur, faid, that he had discovered a method of not being put to a stand by the finister flight of birds, which was to keep himself

close shut up in his litter.

Cicero explains himfelf upon augury without ambiguity or referve. No body was more capable of speaking pertinently upon it than himself; (as Mr. Morin observes in his differtation upon the same subject.) As he was adopted into the college of augurs, he had made himself acquainted with the most concealed of their fecrets, and had all possible opportunity of informing himfelf fully in their science. That he did fo, fufficiently appears from the two books he has left us upon divination, in which it may be faid, he has exhausted the subject. In his second, wherein he refutes his brother Quintus, who had espoused the cause of the augurs, he disputes and defeats his false reasonings with a force, and at the same time with so refined and delicate a raillery, as leaves us nothing to wish; and he demonstrates by proofs, that rife upon each other in their force, the falfity, contrariety, and impossibility of that art. * But what is very furprizing, in the midft of all his arguments, he takes occasion to blame the generals, and magistrates, who on important conjunctures had contemned the prognostics; and maintains, that the use of them, as great an abuse as it was in his own fense, ought nevertheless to be respect-

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auctoritas. Nec vero non omni fupplicio digni P. Claudius, L. Jutam videmus. Retinetur autem navigarunt. Parendum enim fuit religioni, nec patrius mos tam contumaciter repudiandus. Divin.

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^{*} Errabat multis in rebus antiquitas: quam vel usu jam, vel doctrina, vel vetustate immutaet ad opinionem vulgi, et ad magnas utilitates reip. mos, religio, tumaciter repu disciplina, jus augurum, collegii 1. 2. n. 70, 71.

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All that I have hitherto faid tends to prove, that Paganism was divided into two sects, almost equally enemies of religion; the one by their superstitious and blind regard for the augurs, the other by their irreli-

gious contempt, and derifion of them.

The principle of the first, founded on one side upon the ignorance and weakness of man in the affairs of life, and on the other upon the prescience of the divinity, and his almighty providence, was true; but the confequence deduced from it, in regard to the augurs, false and absurd. They ought to have proved that it was certain, the divinity himself had established these external figns to denote his intentions, and that he had obliged himself to a punctual conformity to them upon all occasions: But they had nothing of this kind in their fystem. The augurs and foothfayers therefore were the effect and invention of the ignorance, rashness, curiosity, and blind passions of man, who prefumed to interrogate God, and would oblige him to give answers upon his every idle imagination and unjust enterprize.

The others, who gave no real credit to any thing advanced by the science of the augurs, did not fail however to observe their trivial ceremonies out of policy, for the better fubjecting the minds of the people to themselves, and to reconcile them to their own purposes by the affiftance of superstition: but by their contempt for the augurs, and the entire conviction of their falfity, they were led into a disbelief of the divine providence, and to despise religion itself; conceiving it inseparable from the numerous absurdities of this kind, which rendered it ridiculous, and confe-

quently unworthy of a man of sense.

Both the one and the other behaved in this manner, because having mistaken the creator, and abused the light of nature which might have taught them to know and to adore him, they were deservedly abandoned to

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their own darkness and absurd opinions; and if we had not been enlightned by the true religion, even at this day we might have given ourselves up to the same fuperstitions.

SECT. II. Of Oracles.

NO country was ever richer in, or more productive of oracles than Greece. I shall confine myself

to those which were the most noted.

The oracle of Dodona, a city of the Molossians, was much celebrated; where Jupiter gave answers either by vocal * oaks, or doves, which had also their language, or by refounding basons of brass, or by the mouths of priefts and priefteffes.

(p) The oracles of Trophonius in Bœotia, though he was only a fimple hero, was in great reputation. After many preliminary ceremonies, as washing in the river, offering facrifices, drinking a water, called Lethe from its quality of making people forget every thing, the votaries went down into his cave by small ladders through a very narrow passage. At the bottom was another little cavern, of which the entrance was also exceeding small. There they lay down upon the ground, with a certain composition of honey in each hand, which they were indispensably obliged to carry with them. Their feet were placed within the opening of the little cave; which was no fooner done, than they perceived themselves borne into it with great force and velocity. Futurity was there revealed to them; but not to all in the fame manner. Some faw, others heard, wonders. From thence they returned quite stupished, and out of their

(p) Pausan. l. 9. p. 602, 604.

phetess, which had given room for the fabulous tradition of doves that spoke. It was easy to make thise brazen basons sound by some secret means, and to give what signification they pleased to a confused and inarticulate noise.

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^{*} Certain instruments were fastened to the tops of oaks, which, being shaken by the wind, or by Some other means, rendered a confused sound. Servius observes, that the same word in the Thessalian language, fignifies Dove and pro-

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fenses, and were placed in the chair of Mnemosyne, goddess of memory; not without great need of her affistance to recover their remembrance, after their great fatigue, of what they had feen and heard; admitting they had feen or heard any thing at all? Paufanias, who had confulted that oracle himfelf, and gone through all these ceremonies, has left a most ample description of it; to which (q) Plutarch adds fome particular circumstances, which I omit to avoid a tedious prolixity, to olog A to sloets out around and

(r) The temple and oracle of the Branchidæ in the neighbourhood of Miletus, fo called from Branchus the fon of Apollo, was very antient and in great esteem with all the Ionians and Dorians of Asia. Xerxes in his return from Greece burnt this temple. after the priefts had delivered its treasures to him. That prince in return granted them an establishment in the remotest parts of Asia, to secure them against the vengeance of the Greeks. After the war was over, the Milesians re-established that temple with a magnificence, which, according to Strabo, furpaffed that of all the other temples of Greece. When Alexander the Great had overthrown Darius, he utterly destroyed the city, where the priests Branchidæ had fettled, of which their descendants were at that time in actual possession, punishing in the children the facrilegious perfidy of their fathers, another taslow

(s) Tacitus relates something very singular, though not very probable, of the oracle of Claros, a town of Ionia in Afia Minor near Colophon. "Germani-" cus," fays he, " went to confult Apollo at Cla-" ros. It is not a woman that gives the answers there as at Delphos, but a man, chose out of cer-

" tain families, and almost always of Miletus. It 56 fuffices to let him know the number and names of

"those, who come to consult him. After which he " retires into a cave, and having drunk of the wal-

(9) Plut. de gen. Socr. p. 590. (r) Her. l. 1, c. 157. Strab. l. 14. p. 634. (s) Tacit, Annal. l. 2. c. 54. temple

"ters of a spring within it, he delivers answers in the verse upon what the persons have in their thoughts, though he is often ignorant, and knows nothing of composing in measure. It is said that he foretold to Germanicus his sudden death, but in dark and ambiguous terms, according to the custom of oraseeles."

I omit a great number of other oracles, to proceed to the most famous of them all. It is very obvious, that I mean the oracle of Apollo at Delphos. He was worshipped there under the name of the Pythian, derived from the serpent Python, which he had killed, or from a Greek word, that signifies to enquire, and because people came thither to consult him. From thence the Delphic priestess was called Pythia, and

the games there celebrated the Pythian games.

Delphos was an antient city of Phocis in Achaia. It flood upon the declivity and about the middle of the mountain Parnassus, built upon a small extent of even ground, and furrounded with precipices, that fortified it without the help of art. (t) Diodorus fays, that there was a cavity upon Parnassus, from whence an exhalation role, which made the goats dance and skip about, and intoxicated the brain. A shepherd having approached it, out of a defire to know the causes of so extraordinary an effect, was immediately feized with violent agitations of body, and pronounced words, which, without doubt, he did not understand himself; however they foretold futurity. Others made the fame experiment, and it was foon rumoured throughout the neighbouring countries. The cavity was no longer approached without reverence. The exhalation was concluded to have fomething divine in it. A priestess was appointed for the reception of its effects, and a tripod placed upon the vent, called by the Latins Cortina, perhaps, from the skin (u) that covered it. From thence she gave her oracles. The city of Delphos rose insensibly round about this cave; where a

(t) Lib. 14. p. 427, 428. (u) Corium,

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temple was erected, which at length became very magnificent. The reputation of this oracle almost effaced, or at least very much exceeded that of all others.

At first a fingle Pythia sufficed to answer those who

At first a single Pythia sufficed to answer those who came to consult the oracle, not yet amounting to any great number: but in process of time, when it grew into universal repute, a second was appointed to mount the tripod alternately with the first, and a third chosen to succeed in case of death, or disease. There were other affishants besides these to attend the Pythia in the sanctuary, of whom the most considerable were called prophets (x); it was their business to take care of the sacrifices, and to make the inspection into them. To these the demands of the enquirers were delivered either by word of mouth, or in writing, and they returned the answers, as we shall see in the sequel.

Delphos. The antients represent the latter as a woman, that roved from country to country, venting ber predictions. She was at the same time the Sibyl of Delphos, Erythræ, Babylon, Cuma, and many other places, from her having resided in them all.

The Pythia could not prophefy till she was intoxicated by the exhalation from the fanctuary. This miraculous vapour had not the effect at all times and upon all occasions. The god was not always in the inspiring bumour. At first he imparted himself only once a year, but at length he was prevailed upon to visit the Pythia every month. All days were not proper, and upon some it was not permitted to consult the oracle. These unfortunate days occasioned an oracle's being given to Alexander the Great worthy of remark. He was at Delphos to consult the god, at a time when the priefters pretended it was forbid to ask him any questions, and would not enter the temple. Alexander, who was always warm and tenacious, took hold of her by the arm to force her into (x) TPOPHTEL. in an equal and calm time truein the fruit

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it, when the cried out, Ah, my fon, you are not to be refifted! or, my fon, you are invincible! upon which words he declared he would have no other oracle, and was contented with that he had received.

The Pythia, before the afcended the tripod, was a long time preparing for it by facrifices, purifications; a fast of three days, and many other ceremonies. The god denoted his approach by the moving of a laurel, that stood before the gate of the temple; which

shook also to its very foundations, as no bescoul of not

Affoon * as the divine vapour, like a penetrating fire, had diffused itself through the entrails of the priestess, her hair stood upright upon ther head, her looks grew wild and furious, the foamed at the mouth, a fudden and violent trembling feized her whole body, with all the † fymptoms of diffraction and frenzy. She uttered at intervals fome words almost inarticulate, which the prophets carefully collected. After the had been a certain time upon the tripod. the was re-conducted to her cell, where the generally continued many days, to recover herfelf of her fatigue, and as Lucan fays (y), a fudden death was often ei-

(y) Lib. 5.1s must mi bebiten univad ted cho

His Pladcord don bl. Cui talia fanti. []

Ante fores, fubito non vultus, non color unus, Non comptæ mansere comæ: sed pectus anhelum bets alt rabie fera corda tument; majorque videri, BV auc Bostant

Nec mortale sonans, afflata est numine quando

Jam propiore dei.

Among the various marks of voice, and with a noble tranquiltures to distinguish his oracles from ness, attributed by Virgil to the Pythia, et rabie fera corda tument, is one. It is I, says God, that show the falshood of the diviner's frew the falfood of the diviner's I have not spoken in secret, in a predictions, and give to such at dia dark place of the earth, Ifal. quine, the motions of fury and mad- 17 xly. 19, I have not spoken in feness; or according to Isa. xliv. 25. That fruffrateth the tokens of the liar, and maketh diviners mad. Instead of which the prophets of the true God constantly gave the divine answers in an equal and calm tone

which God has given us in the scrip- lity of behaviour. Another distinguishing mark is the dæmons giving their oracles in secret places, by-ways, and in the obscurity of cames; whereas God give his in open day and before all the world. cret from the beginning, Isa. xlviii. 16. So that God did not permit the devil to imitate bis oracles, without imposing such conditions upon him, as might distinguish be-tween the true and false inspiration.

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The prophets had poets under them, who made the oracles into verses, which were often bad enough, and gave occasion to say, it was very surprizing, that Apollo, who prefided in the choir of the muses, should inspire his prophetess no better. But Plutarch informs us, that the god did not compose the verses of the oracle. He inflamed the Pythia's imagination, and kindled in her foul that living light, which unveiled all futurity to her. The words she uttered in the heat of her enthusiasm, having neither method nor connection, and coming only by flarts, to use that expression, (2) from the bottom of her stomach, or rather from her belly, were collected with care by the prophets, who gave them afterwards to the poets to be turned into verse. These Apollo left to their own genius, and natural talents; as we may suppose he did the Pythia, when she composed verses, which though not often, happened fometimes. The substance of the oracle was inspired by Apollo, the manner of expressing it was the priestes's own: the oracles were however often given in profe.

The general characteristics of oracles were * ambiguity, obscurity, and convertibility, (to use that expression,) so that one answer would agree with several various, and fometimes directly opposite events. By the help of this artifice, the dæmons, who of themfelves are not capable of knowing futurity, concealed their ignorance, and amused the credulity of the Pagan world. When Croesus was upon the point of invading the Medes, he consulted the oracle of Delphos upon the fuccess of that war, and was answered, that

accidisset, utrumque possit intelligi. Hieronym. in c. 42. Ilaiæ. He cites the two examples of Crassus and Pyrrbus.

⁽²⁾ Efyespi uvlos.
* Quod si aliquis dixerit multa ab idolis esse prædicta; hoc sciendum, quod femper mendacium junxerint veritati, et sic sententias temperatint, ut, seu boni seu mali quid VOL. V.

by passing the river Halys, he would ruin a great empire. What empire, his own, or that of his enemies? He was to guess that; but whatever the event might be, the oracle could not fail of being in the right. As much may be said upon the same god's answer to Pyrrhus,

Aio te, Eacida, Romanos vincere posse.

I repeat it in Latin, because the equivocality, which equally implies, that Pyrrhus could conquer the Romans, and the Romans Pyrrhus, will not subsist in a translation. Under the cover of such ambiguities, the god eluded all difficulties, and was never in the wrong.

It must however be confessed, that sometimes the answer of the oracle was clear and circumstantial. I have repeated, in the history of Croesus, the stratagem he made use of to affure himself of the veracity of the oracle, which was to demand of it by his ambaffador, what he was doing at a certain time prefix-The oracle of Delphos replied, that he was causing a tortoise and a lamb to be drest in a vessel of brass; which was really so. (a) The emperor Trajan made a like proof upon the god at Heliopolis, by fending him a letter * fealed up, to which he demanded an answer. The oracle made no other return than to command a blank paper, well folded and sealed, to be delivered to him. Trajan, upon the receipt of it, was struck with amazement to fee an answer so correspondent with his own letter, in which he knew he had wrote nothing. The wonderful + facility, with which dæmons can transfer themfelves almost in an instant from place to place, made it not impossible for them to give the two related an-

(a) Macrob. l. I. Saturnal. c. 23.

* It was customary to consult the oracle by sealed letters, which were laid upon the altar of the god unopened.

† Omnis spiritus ales. Hoc et angeli et dæmones. Igitur momento ubique sant: totus orbis iltis locus unus est: quid ubi geratur tam facile sciunt, quam enuntiant. Velocitas divinitas creditur, quia substantia ignoratur.——Ceterum testudinem decoqui cum carnibus pecudis Pythius eo modo renunciavit, quo supra diximus. Momento apud Lydiam suerat. Tertul. in Apolog.

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fwers, and feem to foretel in one country what they had feen in another; which is Tertullian's opinion,

Admitting it to be true, that some oracles have been followed precifely by the events foretold, we may believe, that God, to punish the blind and sacrilegious credulity of the Pagans, has fometimes permitted the dæmons to have a knowledge of things to come. and to foretel them distinctly enough. Which conduct of God, though very much above human comprehenfion, is frequently attested in the holy scrip-

It has been questioned, whether the oracles, mentioned in prophane history, should be ascribed to the operations of dæmons, or only to the malignity and imposture of men. Wandale, a Dutch physician; has maintained the latter; and Monsieur Fontenelle, when a young man, adopted that opinion, in the perfuafion (to use his own words) that it was indifferent as to the truth of christianity, whether the oracles were the effect of the agency of spirits, or a series of impostures. Father Baltus the Jesuit, professor of the holy scriptures in the university of Strasburgh, has refuted them both in a very folid piece, wherein he demonstrates invincibly, with the unamimous authority of the fathers, that the devils were the real agents in the oracles. He attacks, with equal force and fuccess, the rathness and presumption of the Anabaptist physician, who, calling in question the capacity and discernment of the holy doctors, absurdly endeavours to efface the high idea all true believers have of those great leaders of the church, and to depreciate their venerable authority, which is fo great a difficulty to all who deviate from the principles of antient tradition. And if that was ever certain and confentaneous in any thing, it is fo in this point; for all the fathers of the church and ecclefiaftical writers of all ages, maintain, and attest, that the devil was the author of idolatry in general, and of oracles in particular.

This opinion does not oppose the belief, that the priests tio :

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priefts and prieftesses were frequently guilty of fraud and imposture in the answers of the oracles. For is not the devil the father and prince of lies? In the Grecian history we have feen more than once the Delphic priestels suffer herself to be corrupted by prefents. It was from that motive, she perfuaded the Lacedæmonians to affift the people of Athens in the expulsion of the thirty tyrants; that she caused Demaratus to be divested of the royal dignity to make way for Cleomenes; and dreft up an oracle to support the imposture of Lysander, when he endeavoured to change the succession to the throne of Sparta. And I am apt to believe, that Themistocles, who well knew the importance of acting against the Persians by fea, inspired the god with the answer he gave, to defend themselves with walls of wood. (b) Demosthenes, convinced that the oracles were frequently fuggested by paffion or interest, and suspecting with reason, that Philip had instructed them to speak in his favour, boldly declared, that the Pythia philippized, and bad the Athenians and Thebans remember, that Pericles and Epaminondas, instead of listening to, and amufing themselves with, the frivolous answers of the oracle, those idle bugbears of the base and cowardly, confulted only reason in the choice and execution of their measures.

The fame Father Baltus examines with equal fuccess the cessation of oracles, a second point in the dispute. Mr. Wandale to oppose with some advantage a truth fo glorious to Jesus Christ, the subverter of idolatry, had falsified the sense of the fathers, by making them fay, that eracles ceased precisely at the moment of Christ's birth. The learned apologist for the fathers shews, that they all alledge oracles did not cease till after our Saviour's birth, and the preaching of his gospel; not on a sudden, but in proportion to his falutary doctrine's being known to mankind, and gaining ground in the world. This unanimous opiopenion does not

(b) Plut. in Demosth. p. \$54.

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nion of the fathers is confirmed by the unexceptionable evidence of great numbers of the Pagans, who agree with them as to the time when the oracles ceased.

What an honour to the christian religion was this filence, imposed upon the oracles by the victory of Jesus Christ! Every christian had this power. (c) Tertullian, in one of his apologies, challenges the Pagans to make the experiment, and confents, that a christian should be put to death, if he did not oblige these givers of oracles to confess themselves devils. (d) Lactantius informs us, that every christian could filence them by only the fign of the cross. And all the world knows, that when Julian the apostate was at Daphne, a suburb of Antioch, to consult Apollo, the god, notwithstanding all the sacrifices offered to him, continued mute, and only recovered his speech to anfwer those who enquired the cause of his filence, that they must ascribe it to the interment of certain bodies in the neighbourhood. Those were the bodies of christian martyrs, amongst which was that of Saint Babylas.

This triumph of the christian religion ought to give us a due sense of our obligations to Jesus Christ, and at the same time of the darkness, to which all mankind were abandoned before his coming. We have seen amongst the Carthaginians, * fathers and mothers, more cruel than wild beasts, inhumanly giving up their children, and annually depopulating their cities, by destroying the most florid of their youth, in obedience to the bloody distates of their oracles, and false

(c) Tertull. in Apolog.

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(d) Lib. de vera fapient. c. 27.

* Tam barbaros, tam immanes fuisse homines, ut parricidium sum, id est tetrum atque execrabile humano generi facinus, sacrificium vocarent. Cum teneras atque innocentes animas, quæ maximè est ætas parentibus dukcior, sine ullo respectu pietatis extinguerent, immanitatemque omnium bestiarum,

quæ tamen fætus suos amant, feritate superarent. O dementiam insanabilem! Quid illis isti dii amplius facere possent si essentiami quam faciunt propitii? cum suos cultores parricidiis inquinant, orbitatibus mactant, humanis sensibus spoliant. Lastant. 1. 1. c. 21.

gods. The victims were chosen without any regard to rank, sex, age, or condition. Such bloody executions were honoured with the name of facrifices, and defigned to make the gods propitious. What greater evil, cries Lactantius, could they inflict in their most violent displicature, than to deprive their adorers of all sense of humanity, to make them cut the throats of their own children, and pollute their sacrilegious hands

with fuch execrable parricides?

A thousand frauds and impostures, openly detected at Delphos, and every where else, had not opened men's eyes, nor in the least diminished the credit of the oracles, which subsisted upwards of two thousand years, and was carried to an inconceivable height, even in the sense of the greatest men, the most profound philosophers, the most powerful princes, and generally amongst the most civilized nations, and such as valued themselves most upon their wisdom and policy. The estimation, they were in, may be judged from the magnificence of the temple of Delphos, and the immense riches amassed in it through the superstitious credulity of nations and monarchs.

(e) The temple of Delphos having been burnt about the fifty eighth olympiad, the Amphyctyons, those celebrated judges of Greece, took upon themselves the care of rebuilding it. They agreed with an architect for three hundred talents, which amounts to nine hundred thousand livres. The cities of Greece were to furnish that sum. The inhabitants of Delphos were taxed a fourth part of it, and made gatherings in all parts, even in foreign nations, for that fervice. Amafis, at that time king of Egypt, and the Grecian inhabitants of his country, contributed confiderable fums towards it. The Alemeonides, a potent family of Athens, were charged with the conduct of the building, and made it more magnificent by confiderable additions of their own, than had been proposed in the model.

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⁽e) Her. l. 2. c. 180, & l. 5. c. 62.

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Gyges king of Lydia, and Croefus one of his fucceffors, enriched the temple of Delphos with an incredible number of presents. Many other princes, cities, and private persons by their example, in a kind of emulation of each other, had heaped up in it tripods, vessels, tables, shields, crowns, chariots, and statues of gold and filver of all fizes, equally infinite in number and value. The presents of gold, which Croefus only made to this temple, amounted, according to Herodotus (f), to upwards of 254 talents; that is, about 762000 French livres *; and perhaps those of filver to as much. Most of those presents were in being in the time of Herodotus. (g) Diodorus Siculus, adding those of other princes to them, makes their amount ten thousand talents, or thirty millions of livres t.

(b) Amongst the statues of gold, consecrated by Croesus in the temple of Delphos, was placed that of a female baker, of which this was the occasion. Alyattus, Croefus's father, having married a second wife, by whom he had children, she contrived to get rid of her fon-in-law, that the crown might descend to her own issue. For this purpose she engaged the female baker to put poison into a loaf, that was to be ferved at the young prince's table. The woman, who was struck with horror at the crime, (in which she ought to have had no part at all) gave Croefus notice of it. The poisoned loaf was served to the queen's own children, and their death secured the crown to the lawful fuccessor. When he ascended the throne, in gratitude to his benefactress, he erected a statue to her in the temple of Delphos. But may we conclude, that a person of so mean a condition could deserve fo great an honour? Plutarch answers in the affirmative, and with a much better title, he fays, than many of the fo much vaunted conquerors and heroes,

⁽f) Her. l. 1. c. 50, 51. (g) Diod. l. 16. p. 453. (b) Plut. de Pyth. orac. p. 401.

^{*} About 33500 l. Sterling. + About 1300000 %. C 4

who have acquired their fame only by murder and de-

vastation.

It is not to be wondered, that fuch immense riches should tempt the avarice of mankind, and expose Delphos to being frequently pillaged. Without mentioning more antient times, Xerxes, who invaded Greece with a million of men, endeavorued to seize upon the spoils of this temple. Above an hundred years after, the Phoceans, near neighbours of Delphos, plundered it at feveral times. The fame rich booty was the fole motive of the irruption of the Gauls into Greece under Brennus. The guardian god of Delphos, if we may believe historians, fometimes defended this temple by furprizing prodigies, and at others, either incapacity or confusion, suffered himfelf to be plundered. When Nero made this temple, fo famous throughout the universe, a visit, and found in it five hundred fine brass statues of illustrious men and gods to his liking, which had been confecrated to Apollo, (those of gold and filver having undoubtedly disappeared upon his approach) he ordered them to be taken down, and shipping them on board his vesfels, carried them with him to Rome.

Those, who would be more particularly informed concerning the oracles and riches of the temple of Delphos, may consult some differtations upon them, printed in the memoirs of the academy of Belles Lettres (i); of which I have made good use, according

to my custom.

ARTICLE III.

Of the Games and Combats.

AMES and combats made a part of the religion, and had a share in almost all the festivals of the antients; and for that reason it is proper to treat of them in this place. Whether we consider their origin, or the design of their institution, we

(i) Vol. III.

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Hercules, Theseus, Castor, and Pollux, and the greatest heroes of antiquity, were not only the institutors, or restorers of them, but thought it glorious to share in the exercise of them, and meritorious to succeed therein. The fubduers of monsters, and of the common enemies of mankind, thought it no difgrace to them, to aspire at the victories in these combats; nor that the new wreaths, with which their brows were encircled in the folemnization of these games, took any lustre from those, they had before acquired. Hence the most famous poets made these combats the fubject of their verses; the beauty of whose poetry, whilst it immortalized themselves, seemed to promise an eternity of fame to those, whose victories it so divinely celebrated. Hence arose that uncommon ardor, which animated all Greece to imitate the antient heroes, and like them, to fignalize themselves in the public combats.

A reason more solid, which results from the nature of these combats, and of the people who used them, may be given for their prevalence. The Greeks, by nature warlike, and equally intent upon forming the bodies and minds of their youth, introduced these exercifes, and annexed honours to them, in order to prepare the younger fort for the profession of arms, to confirm their health, to render them stronger and more robust, to inure them to fatigues, and to make them intrepid in close-fight, in which, the use of firearms being then unknown, the strength of body generally decided the victory. These athletic exercises fupplied the place of those in use amongst our nobility, as dancing, fencing, riding the great horse, &c. but they did not confine themselves to a graceful mien, nor to the beauties of a shape and face; they were

for joining Arength to the charms of person.

It is true, these exercises, so illustrious by their founders, and fo useful in the ends at first proposed

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from them, introduced public mafters, who taught them to young persons, and practifing them with success, made public shew and oftentation of their skill. This fort of men applied themselves solely to the practice of this art, and carrying it to an excess, they formed it into a kind of science, by the addition of rules and refinements; often challenging each other out of a vain emulation, till at length they degenerated into a profession of people, who, without any other employment, or merit, exhibited themselves as a fight for the diversion of the public. Our dancingmasters are not unlike them in this respect, whose natural and original defignation was to teach youth a graceful manner of walking, and a good address; but now we see them mount the stage, and perform ballets in the garb of comedians, capering, jumping, skipping, and making variety of strange and unnatural motions. We shall see, in the sequel, what opinion the antients had of their professed combatants and wrestling-masters.

There were four kinds of games folemnized in The Olympic, so called from Olympia, otherwise Pisa, a town of Elis in Peloponnesus, near which they were celebrated after the expiration of every four years in honour of Jupiter Olympicus. The Pythic, facred to Apollo * Pythius, fo called from the ferpent Python, killed by him; they were also celebrated every four years. The Neman, which took their name from Nemæa, a city and forest of Peloponnesus, and were either instituted or restored by Hercules, after he had flain the lion of the Nemæan forest. They were solemnized every two years. And lastly, the Isthmian, celebrated upon the Isthmus of Corinth, from four years to four years, in honour of Neptune. (k) Theseus was the restorer of them, and they continued even after the ruin of Corinth. persons might be present at these public sports with

(k) Paul. 1. 2. p. 88.
Several reasons are given for this name.

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greater quiet and security, there was a general suspention of arms, and cessation of hostilities throughout all Greece, during the time of their celebration.

In these games, which were solemnized with incredible magnificence, and drew together a prodigious concourse of spectators from all parts, a simple wreath was all the reward of the victors. In the Olympic games it was composed of wild olive. In the Pythic of laurel. In the Nemæan of green parfley (1): and in the Isthmian of the same herb. The institutors of these games implied from thence, that only honour, and not mean and fordid interest, ought to be the motive of great actions. Of what were men not capable, accustomed to act solely from so glorious a print tiple! (m) We have feen in the Persian war, that Tigranes, one of the most considerable captains in the army of Xerxes, having heard the prizes in the Grecian games described, cried out with astonishment, addressing himself to Mardonius, who commanded in chief; * Heavens! against what men are you leading us? Insensible to interest, they combat only for glory! Which exclamation, though looked upon by Xerxes as an affect of abject fear, abounds with fense and judgment.

(n) It was from the same principle the Romans, whilst they bestowed upon other occasions crowns of gold of great value, persisted always in giving only a wreath of oaken leaves to him who saved the life of a citizen. "Oh manners, worthy of eternal re-"membrance! cries Pliny, in relating this laudable custom. Oh grandeur, truly Roman, that would affign no other reward but honour, for the preservation of a citizen! a service indeed above all re-"ward; thereby sufficiently arguing it their opinion, that it was criminal to save man's life from the

⁽¹⁾ Apium. (m) Her. l. 8. c. 88. (n) Plin. l. 16. c. 4.

^{*} Παπαί, Μαρδύνε, κόινους ἀγῶνα ποιθύται, ἀπὰ περί ἀρεἐπ' ἀνδρας ήγαγες μαχησομένες τῆς. ἡμᾶς, οἱ ἐ περὶ χρημάτων τον

motive of lucre and interest!" O mores æternos, qui tanta opera bonore solo donaverint; & cum reliquas coronas auro commendarent, salutem civis in pretio esse neluerint, clara prosessione servari quidem bominem nefas

e Te lucri caufa!

Amongst all the Grecian games, the Olympic held undeniably the first rank, and that for three reasons. They were facred to Jupiter, the greatest of the gods; instituted by Hercules, the first of the heroes; and celebrated with more pomp and magnificence, amidst a greater concourse of spectators from all parts, than

any of the rest.

(o) If Paufanias may be believed, women were prohibited to be present at them upon pain of death; and during their continuance, it was ordained, that no woman should approach the place where the games were celebrated, or pass on that side of the river Alpheus. One only was so bold as to violate this law, and slipt in disguise amongst the combatants. She was tried for the offence, and would have suffered for it according to the law, if the judges, in regard to her father, her brother, and her son, who had all been victors in the Olympic games, had not pardoned her offence, and saved her life.

This law was very conformable with the Grecian manners, amongst whom the ladies were very referved, seldom appeared in public, had separate apartments called Gynacea, and never eat at table with the men when strangers were present. It was certainly inconsistent with decency to admit them at some of the games, as those of wrestling, and the Pancratium, in which the combatants sought naked.

(p) The same Pausanias tells us in another place, that the priesters of Ceres had an honourable seat in these games, and that virgins were not denied the liberty of being present at them. For my part I cannot conceive the reason of such inconsistency, which indeed seems incredible.

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⁽⁰⁾ Pauf. l. 5. p. 297.

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The Greeks thought nothing comparable to the victory in these games. They looked upon it as the persection of glory, and did not believe it permitted to mortals to desire any thing beyond it. * Cicero assures us, that with them it was no less honourable, than the consular dignity in its original splendor with the antient Romans. And in another place he says, that † to conquer at Olympia, was almost, in the sense of the Grecians, more great and glorious, than to receive the honour of a triumph at Rome. Horace speaks in still stronger terms upon this kind of victory. | He is not assaid to say, that it exalts the victor above human nature; they were no longer men but gods.

We shall see hereaster what extraordinary honours were paid to the victor, of which one of the most affeeting was, to date the year with his name. thing could more effectually enliven their endeavours, and make them regardless of expences, than the affurance of immortalizing their names, which, for the future, would be annexed to the calendar, and in the front of all laws made in the same year with the victory. To this motive may be added the joy of knowing, that their praises would be celebrated by the most famous poets, and share in the entertaiment of the most illustrious assemblies; for these odes were sung in every house, and had a part in every entertainment. What could be a more powerful incentive to a people, who had no other object and aim than that of human glory!

I shall confine myself upon this head to the Olympic games, which continued five days; and shall describe, in as brief a manner as possible, the several kinds of combats of which they were com-

^{*} Olympiorum victoria Græcis Græcos prope majus fuit et glorioconfulatus ille antiquus videbatur.
Tuscul. Quæst. lib. 2. n. 41.
Pro Flacco, **sum. 31.

posed. Mr. Burette has treated this subject in several differtations, printed in the memoirs of the academy of Belles Lettres; wherein purity, perspicuity, and elegance of stile are united with prosound erudition. I make no scruple in appropriating to my use the riches of my brethren, and upon this subject of the Olympic games have made very free with the late Abbé

Mafficu's remarks upon the odes of Pindar.

The combats, which had the greatest share in the solemnity of the public games, were boxing, wrestling, the pancratium, the discus or quoit, and racing. To these may be added the exercises of leaping, throwing the dart, and that of the trochus or wheel; but as these were neither important, nor of any great reputation, I shall content myself with having only mentioned them in this place. For the better methodizing the particulars of these games and exercises, it will be necessary to begin with an account of the Athletæ or combatants.

SECT. I. Of the Athletæ or combatants.

THE term Athletæ is derived from the Greek word 2920, which signifies labour, combat. This name was given to those who exercised themselves with design to dispute the prizes in the public games. The art by which they formed themselves for these encounters, was called Gymnastic, from the Athletæ's

practifing naked.

Those who were designed for this profession frequented, from their most tender age, the Gymnasia or Palæstræ, which were a kind of academies, maintained for that purpose at the public expence. In these places such young people were under the direction of different masters, who employed the most effectual methods to inure their bodies for the satigues of the public games, and to form them for the combats. The regimen they were under was very hard and severe. At first they had no other nourishment but dried sigs, nuts, soft cheese, and a gross heavy fort of bread.

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bread, called μάζα. They were absolutely forbid the use of wine, and enjoined continence; which Horace expresses thus, (q)

Qui studet optatam cursu contingere metam Multa tulit secitque puer, sudavit et alsit, Abstinuit venere et vino.

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Who, in th'Olympic race, the prize would gain, Has born from early youth fatigue and pain, Excess of heat and cold has often try'd, Love's softness banish'd, and the glass deny'd.

St. Paul, by an allusion to the Athletæ, exhorts the Corinthians, near whose city the Isthmian games were celebrated, to a fober and penitent life. Those who strive, fays he, for the mastery, are temperate in all things: now they do it to obtain a corruptible crown, but we an incorruptible. * Tertullian uses the same thought to encourage the martyrs. He makes a comparison from what the hopes of victory made the Athletæ endure. He repeats the severe and painful exercifes they were obliged to undergo; the continual anguish and constraint in which they passed the best years of their lives, and the voluntary privation, which they imposed upon themselves, of all that was most affecting and grateful to their passions. It is true, the Athletæ did not always observe so severe a regimen, but at length substituted in its stead a voracity and indolence extremely remote from it.

The Athletæ, before their exercises, were rubbed with oils and ointments, to make their bodies more supple and vigorous. At first they made use of a belt, with an apron or scarf sastened to it, for their more decent appearance in the combats; but one of the combatants happening to lose the victory by this covering's falling off, that accident was the occasion of

⁽⁹⁾ Art. Poet. v. 412.

^{*} Nempe enim & Athletæ fegregantur ad strictiorem discipliam, ut robori ædificando vacent; continentur à luxuria, à cibis læti-

oribus, à potu jucundiore; coguntur, cruciantur, fatigantur. Tertul. ad Martyr.

facrificing modesty to convenience, and retrenching the apron for the suture. The Athletæ were only naked in some exercises, as wrestling, boxing, the pancratium, and the soot-race. They practised a kind of noviciate in the Gymnasia for ten months, to accomplish themselves in the several exercises by assiduous application; and this they did in the presence of such, as curiosity or idleness conducted to look on. But when the celebration of the Olympic games drew nigh, the Athletæ, who were to appear in them, were kept to double exercise.

Before they were admitted to combat, other proofs were required; as to birth, none but Greeks were to be received. It was also necessary, that their manners should be unexceptionable, and their condition free. No stranger was admitted to combat in the Olympic games; and when Alexander, the son of Amyntas king of Macedon, presented himself to dispute the prize, his competitors, without any regard to the royal dignity, opposed his reception as a Macedonian, and consequently a Barbarian and a stranger; nor could the judges be prevailed upon to admit him, till he had proved in due form his family originally de-

fcended from the Argives.

The persons who presided in the games, called Agonotheta, Athlotheta, and Hellanodica, registered the name and country of each champion; and upon the opening of the games an herald proclaimed the names of the combatants. They were then made to take an oath, that they would religiously observe the several laws prescribed in each kind of combat, and to do nothing contrary to the established orders, and regulations of the games. Fraud, artifice, and excessive violence, were absolutely prohibited; and the maxim fo generally received elsewhere, that it is indifferent whether an enemy is conquered by deceit or valour, was banished from these combats. The address of a combatant, expert in all the turns of his art, who knew how to shift and fence dexteroully, to put the change

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change upon his adversary with art and subtlety, and to improve the least advantages, must not be confounded here with the cowardly and knavish cunning of one, who, without regard to the laws prescribed, employs the most unfair means to vanquish his competitor. Those, who disputed the prize in the several kinds of combats, drew lots for their precedency in them.

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It is time to bring our champions to blows, and to run over the different kinds of combats, in which they exercised themselves.

SECT. II. Of wrestling.

WRESTLING is one of the most antient exercises of which we have any knowledge, having been practised in the time of the patriarchs, as the wrestling of the angel with Jacob proves (r). Jacob supported the angel's attack so vigorously, that, perceiving he could not throw so rough a wrestler, he was reduced to make him lame by touching the sinew of his thigh, which immediately shrunk up.

Wrestling among the Greeks, as well as other nations, was practised at first with simplicity, little art, and in a natural manner; the weight of the body, and the strength of the muscles having more share in it, than address and skill. Theseus was the first, that reduced it to method, and refined it with rules of art. He was also the first who established the public schools, called Palastra, where the young people had masters to instruct them in it.

The wreftlers, before they began their combats, were rubbed all over in a rough manner, and afterwards anointed with oils, which added to the strength, and flexibility of their limbs. But as this unction, in making the skin too slippery, rendered it difficult for them to take good hold of each other, they remedied that inconvenience, sometimes by rolling themselves in the dust of the Palæstræ, sometimes by throwing a

⁽r) Gen. xxxii, 24.

fine fand upon each other, kept for that purpose in

the Xystæ, or portico's of the Gymnasia.

Thus prepared, the wreftlers began their combat. They were matched two against two, and sometimes feveral couples contended at the fame time. In this combat, the whole aim and defign of the wreftlers was to throw their adversary upon the ground. Both ftrength and art were employed to this purpose: they feized each other by the arms, drew forwards, pushed backwards, used many distortions and twistings of the body; locking their limbs into each other's, feizing by the neck, throttling, pressing in their arms, struggling, plying on all fides, lifting from the ground, dashing their heads together like rams, and twifting one another's necks. The most considerable advantage in the wrestler's art was to make himself master of his adversary's legs, of which a fall was the immediate consequence. From whence Plautus says in his Pseudolus, speaking of wine, * He is a dangerous wrestler, he presently takes one by the heels. The Greek terms informaticen, and prepricen, and the Latin word supplantare, seem to imply, that one of these arts confisted in stooping down to seize the antagonist under the foles of his feet, and in raising them up to give him the fall.

In this manner the Athletæ wrestled standing, the combat ending with the sall of one of the competitors. But when it happened that the wrestler, who was down, drew his adversary along with him, either by art or accident, the combat continued upon the sand, the antagonists tumbling and twining with each other in a thousand different ways, till one of them got uppermost, and compelled the other to ask quarter, and confess himself vanquished. There was a third sort of wrestling, called Arpoxintor wos, from the Athletæ's using only their hands in it, without taking hold of the body as in the other kinds; and this exercise served as a prelude to the greater combat. It

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^{*} Captat pedes primum, luctator dolosus est.

consisted in intermingling their fingers, and in squeezing them with all their force; in pushing one another by joining the palms of their hands together; in twisting their fingers, wrists, and other joints of the arm, without the affistance of any other member; and the victory was his, who obliged his opponent to ask quarter.

The combatants were to fight three times succefsively, and to throw their antagonists at least twice,

before the prize could be adjudged to them.

(s) Homer describes the wrestling of Ajax and Ulysses; Ovid, that of Hercules and Achelous; Lucan, of Hercules and Antæus; and the Thebaid of Sta-

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The wrestlers of greatest reputation amongst the Greeks were Milo of Croton, whose history I have related elsewhere at large, and Polydamas. ter, alone and without arms, killed a furious lion upon mount Olympus, in imitation of Hercules, whom he proposed to himself as a model in this action. Another time having feized a bull by one of his hindlegs, the beaft could not get loofe without leaving his hoof in his hands. He could hold a chariot behind, whilst the coachman whipt his horses in vain to make them go forwards. Darius Nothus, king of Persia, hearing of his prodigious strength, was defirous of feeing him, and invited him to Sufa. Three foldiers of that prince's guard, and of that band, which the Perfians called immortal, effeemed the most warlike of their troops, were ordered to fall upon him. Our champion fought and killed them all three.

SECT. III. Of Boxing or the Cestus.

BOXING is a combat at handy blows, from whence it derives its name. The combatants covered their fifts with a kind of offensive arms, called Costus, and their heads with a fort of leather cap,

⁽s) Iliad. l. 23. v. 708, &c. Ovid. Metam. l. 9. v. 31, &c. Pharf. l. 4. v. 612. Stat. l. 6. v. 147.

to defend their temples and ears, which were most exposed to blows, and to deaden their violence. The Cestus was a kind of gauntlet or glove, made of straps of leather, and plated with brass, lead, or iron withinside. Their use was to strengthen the hands of the combatants, and to add violence to their blows.

Sometimes the Athletæ came immediately to the most violent blows, and began with charging in the most furious manner. Sometimes whole hours paffed in haraffing and fatiguing each other, by a continual extension of their arms; rendering each other's blows ineffectual, and endeavouring in that manner of defence to keep off their adversary. But when they fought with the utmost fury, they aimed chiefly at the head and face, which parts they were most careful to defend, by either avoiding or catching the blows made at them. When a combatant came on to throw himself with all his force and vigour upon another, they had a furprizing address in avoiding the attack, by a nimble turn of the body, which threw the imprudent adversary down, and deprived him of the victory.

However fierce the combatants were against each other, their being exhausted by the length of the combat, would frequently reduce them to the necessity of making a truce. Upon which the battle was suspended for some minutes, that were employed in recovering their fatigue and rubbing off the sweat in which they were bathed. After which they renewed the fight, till one of them, by letting fall his arms through weakness, or by swooning away, explained, that he could no longer support the pain or fatigue, and desired quarter; which was confessing himself

vanquished.

Boxing was one of the rudest and most dangerous of the Gymnic combats; because, besides the danger of being crippled, the combatants ran the hazard of their lives. They sometimes fell down dead, or dying, upon the sand; though that seldom happened,

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except the vanquished person persisted too long in not acknowledging his deseat: yet it was common for them to quit the fight with a countenance so disfigured, that it was not easy to know them afterwards; carrying away with them the sad marks of their vigorous resistance, such as bruises and contusions in the sace, the loss of an eye, their teeth knocked out, their jaws broken, or some more considerable fracture.

We find in the poets, both Latin and Greek, feveral descriptions of this kind of combat. In Homer, that of Epeus and Euryalus; (t) in Theocritus, of Pollux and Amycus; in Apollonius Rhodius, the same battle of Pollux and Amycus; in Virgil, that of Dares and Entellus; and in Statius, and Valerius

Flaccus, of feveral other combatants.

SECT. IV. Of the Pancratium.

THE Pancratium (u) was fo called from two Greek words, which fignify that the whole force of the body was necessary for succeeding in it. It united boxing and wrestling in the same fight, borrowing from one its manner of struggling and slinging, and from the other, the art of dealing blows, and of avoiding them with success. In wrestling it was not permitted to strike with the hand, nor in boxing to seize each other in the manner of the wrestlers: but in the Pancratium, it was not only allowed to make use of all the gripes and artifices of wrestling, but the hands and feet, and even the teeth and nails, might be employed to conquer an antagonist.

This combat was the most rude and dangerous. A Pancratiast in the Olympic games, (called Arrichion, or Arrachion) perceiving himself almost suffocated by his adversary, who had got fast hold of him by the throat, at the same time that he held him by the foot, broke one of his enemy's toes, the extreme anguish of which obliged him to ask quarter at the very in-

⁽t) Dioscor. Idyl. 22. Argonautic. lib. 2. Æneid. l. 1. Thebaid. L 6. Argonaut. l. 4. (u) Nar noat ...

stant Arrichion himself expired. The Agonotheta crowned Arrichion though dead, and proclaimed him victor. Philostratus has left us a very lively description of a painting, which represented this combat.

SECT. V. Of the Discus, or Quoit.

THE Discus was a kind of quoit of a round form, made sometimes of wood, but more frequently of stone, lead, or other metal; as iron, or brass. Those who used this exercise were called Discoboli, that is, slingers of the Discus. The epithet xarapaádos, which signifies borne upon the shoulders, given this instrument by Homer, sufficiently shews, that it was of too great a weight to be carried from place to place in the hands only, and that the shoulders were necessary for the support of such a burden any space of time.

The intent of this exercise, as of almost all the others, was to invigorate the body, and to make it more capable of supporting the weight, and use of arms. In war they were often obliged to carry such loads, as appear excessive in these days, either of provisions, sascines, palisades; or in scaling of walls, when, to equal the height of them, several of the bessegers mounted upon the shoulders of each other.

The Athletæ, in hurling the Discus, put themselves into the best posture they could, to add force to their cast. They advanced one foot, upon which leaning the whole weight of their bodies, they poised the Discus in their hands, and then whirling it round several times almost horizontally, to add force to its motion, they threw it off with the joint strength of hands, arms, and body, which had all a share in the vigour of the discharge. He that slung the Discus sarthest was the victor.

The most famous painters and sculptors of antiquity, in their endeavours to represent naturally the attitudes of the Discoboli, have lest posterity many masser-pieces in their several arts. Quintilian exceedingly extols a statue of that kind, which had been finish-

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ed with infinite care and application by the celebrated Myron: * What can be more finished, or express more happily the muscular distortions of the body in the exercise of the Discus, than the Discobolus of Myron?

SECT. VI. Of the Pentathlum.

THE Greeks gave this name to an exercise compofed of five others. It was the common opinion, that those five exercises were wrestling, running, leaping, throwing the dart, and the Discus. It was believed that this fort of combat was decided in one day, and fometimes the fame morning; and that the prize, which was fingle, could not be given but to the victor in all those exercises.

The exercise of leaping, and throwing the javelin, of which the first consisted in leaping a certain length, and the other in hitting a mark with a javelin at a certain distance, contributed to the forming of a foldier, by making him nimble and active in battle, and expert in flinging the spear and dart.

SECT. VII. Of Races.

OF all the exercises, which the Athletæ cultivated with fo much pains and industry for their appearance in the public games, running was in the highest estimation, and held the foremost rank. The Olympic Games generally opened with races, and were folemnized at first with no other exercise.

The place where the Athletæ exercised themselves in running, was generally called the Stadium by the Greeks; as was that wherein they disputed in earnest for the prize. As the lifts or course for these games was at at first but one + Stadium in length, it took

ratum, quam est ille Discobolus Myronis? Quintil. lib. 2. cap. 13.

+ The Stadium was a landmeasure among st the Greeks, and was, according to Herodetus 1. 2. c. 149. fix bundred feet in extent. Pliny fays; lib. 2. c. 23. that it

Quid tam distortum et elabo- was fix bundred and teventy five. Those two authors may agree, confidering the difference between the Greek and Roman foot; besides which, the measure of the Stadium varies, according to the difference of times and places.

its name from its measure, and was called the Stadium, whether precisely of that extent, or of a much greater. Under that denomination was included not only the space, in which the Athletæ ran, but also that which contained the spectators of the Gymnic games. The place, where the Athletæ contended, was called Scamma, from its lying lower than the rest of the Stadium, on each side of which, and its extremity, ran an ascent or kind of terrass, covered with seats and benches, upon which the spectators were seated. The most remarkable parts of the Stadium were its entrance, middle, and extremity.

The entrance of the course was marked at first only by a line drawn on the sand, from side to side of the Stadium. To that at length was substituted a kind of barrier, which was only a cord strained tight in the front of the horses or men, that were to run. It was sometimes a rail of wood. The opening of this

barrier was the fignal for the racers to start.

The middle of the Stadium was remarkable only by the circumstance of having the prizes, allotted to the victors, set up there. St Chrysostom draws a fine comparison from this custom. As the judges, says he, in the races and other games, expose, in the midst of the Stadium, to the view of the champions, the crowns, which they are to receive; in like manner the Lord, by the mouth of his prophets, has placed the prizes in the midst of the course, which he designs for those, who have the courage to contend for them.

At the extremity of the Stadium was a goal, where the foot races ended, but in those of chariots and horses they were to run several times round it, without stopping, and afterwards conclude the race by regaining the other extremity of the lists, from whence

they started.

There were three kinds of races, the chariot, the horse, and the foot race. I shall begin with the last, as the most simple, natural, and antient.

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The runners, of whatever number they were, ranged themselves in a line, after having drawn lots for their places. * Whilst they waited the signal to start, they practised, by way of prelude, various motions to awaken their activity, and to keep their limbs pliable and in a right temper. They kept themselves breathing by small leaps, and making little excursions, that were a kind of trial of their speed and agility. Upon the signal's being given, they slew towards the goal with a rapidity, scarce to be sollowed by the eye, which was solely to decide the victory: for the Agonistic laws prohibited, upon the most infamous penalties, the attaining it by any soul method

In the simple race the extent of the Stadium was run but once, at the end of which the prize attended the victor, that is, he who came in first. In the race called $\Delta (\omega \omega)$, the competitors ran twice that length, that is, after having arrived at the goal, they returned to the barrier. To these may be added a third sort called $\Delta \omega \lambda (\omega)$, which was the longest of all, as its name implies, and was composed of several Diauli. Sometimes it consisted of twenty sour Stadia backwards and forwards, tuning twelve times round the goal.

There were runners in antient times, as well amongst the Greeks as Romans, who were much celebrated

* Tunc rite citatos

Explorant acuuntque gradus, variasque per artes Instimulant docto languentia membra tumultu. Poplite nunc slexo sidunt, nunc lubrica forti Pectora collidunt plausu; nunc ignea tollunt Crura, brevemque sugam nec-opino sine reponunt.

Stat. Theb. lib. 6. v. 587. Cc.
They try, they rouse their speed, with various arts.
Their languid limbs they prompt to act their parts.
Now with bent hams, amidst the practis'd crowd,

They sit; now strain their lungs, and shout aloud; Now a short slight with stery steps they trace, And with a sudden stop abridge the mimic race.

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(x) Pliny tells us, that it was for their swiftness. thought prodigious in Phidippides to run eleven hundred and forty Stadia (y) between Athens and Lacedæmon in the space of two days, till Anystis of the latter place, and Philonides, the runner of Alexander the Great, made twelve hundred Stadia (2) in one day, from Sicyone to Elis. These runners were denominated in pergodo wous, as we find in that passage of Herodotus (a), which mentions Phidippides. In the consulate of Fonteius and Vipsanus, in the reign of Nero, a boy of nine years old, ran feventy-five thousand paces (b) between noon and night. Pliny adds, that in his time there were runners, who ran one hundred and fixty thoufand paces (c) in the circus. Our wonder at fuch a prodigious speed will increase, (continues he) (d) if we reflect, that when Tiberius went to Germany to his brother Drusus, then at the point of death, he could not arrive there in less than four and twenty hours, though the distance was but two hundred thousand paces, (e) and he ran with three post chaises f with the utmost diligence.

2. Of the Horse-races.

The race of a fingle horse with a rider was less celebrated by the antients, yet it had its favourers amongst the most considerable persons, and even kings themselves, and was attended with uncommon glory to the victor. Pindar, in his first ode, celebrates a victory of this kind, obtained by Hiero, king of Syracuse, to whom he gives the title of King, that is, Victor in the horse-race; which name was given to the horse carrying only a single rider, Kings. Sometimes the rider led another horse by the bridle, and then the horses were called Desultorii, and their riders Desultores; because, after a number of turns in the

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⁽x) Plin. l. 7. c. 20. (y) 57 leagues. (z) 60 leagues. (a) Her. l. 6. c. 106. (b) 30 leagues. (c) More than 53 leagues. (d) Val. Max. l. 5. c. 5. (e) 67 leagues.

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Stadium, they changed horses by dexterously vaulting from one to the other. A furprizing address was neceffary upon this occasion, especially in an age unacquainted with the use of stirrops, and when the horses had no faddles, which still made the leap more difficult. In the armies there were also cavalry * called Defultores, who vaulted from one horse to another, as occasion required, and were generally Numidians.

3. Of the Chariot-races.

This kind of race was the most renowned of all the exercises used in the games of the antients, and that from whence most honour redounded to the victors; which is not to be wondered at, if we confider their origin. It is plain, they were derived from the tonstant custom of princes, heroes, and great men, of fighting in battle upon chariots. Homer has an infinity of examples of this kind. This being admitted as a custom, it is natural to suppose it very agreeable to these heroes, to have their charioteers as expert as possible in driving, as their fuccess depended, in a very great measure, upon the address of their drivers. It was antiently, therefore, only to persons of the first consideration, that this office was confided. Hence arose a laudable emulation to excel others in the art of guiding a chariot, and a kind of necessity to practife it very much, for the attainment of it, The high rank of the persons, who made use of chariots, enobled, as it always happens, an exercise peculiar to them. The other exercises were adapted to private foldiers and horsemen, as wrestling, running, and the fingle horfe-race; but the use of chariots in the field was always referved to princes, and generals of armies. caounthance

Hence it was, that all those, who presented them.

tro locati cornu, fed quibus defulequos, inter acerrimam fæpe pug-

^{*} Nec omnes Numidæ in dex- nam, in recentem equum ex fesse. armatis transultare mos erat : tantorum in modum binos trahentibus 'ta velocitas ipfis, tamque docile equorum genus eif. Liv. lib. 23.

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selves in the Olympic games to dispute the prize in the chariot-races, were persons considerable either for their riches, their birth, their employments, or great actions. Kings themselves aspired passionately to this glory, from the belief, that the title of victor in these games, was scarce inferior to that of conqueror, and that the Olympic palm added new dignity to the folendors of a throne. Pindar's odes inform us, that Gelon and Hiero, kings of Syracuse, were of that opinion. Dionyfius, who reigned there long after them, carried the same ambition much higher. Philip of Macedon had these victories stampt upon his coins, and feemed as much affected with them, as with those obtained against the enemies of his state. (e) All the world knows the answer of Alexander the Great on this subject. When his friends asked him. whether he would dispute the prize of the races in these games? Yes, said he, if kings were to be my antagonists. Which shews, that he would not have difdained these exercises, if there had been competitors in them worthy of him.

The chariots were generally drawn by two or four horses, placed in a row: bigæ, quadrigæ. Sometimes mules supplied the place of horses, and then the chariot was called à a firm. Pindar, in the fifth ode of his first book, celebrates one Psaumis, who had obtained a triple victory; one by a chariot drawn by four horses, tetpiana; another by one drawn by mules, à a min, and the third by a single horse, xiant, which

the title of the ode expresses.

These chariots, upon a fignal given, started together from a place called *Carceres*. Their places were regulated by lot, which was not an indifferent circumstance as to the victory; for being to turn round a boundary, the chariot on the lest was nearer than those on the right, which in consequence had a greater compass to take. It appears from several passages in Pindar, and especially from one in Sophocles, which

(e) Plut. in Alex. p. 666.

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I shall cite very soon, that they ran twelve times round the Stadium. He that came in first the twelfth round was victor. The chief art confisted in taking the best ground at the turning of the boundary: for if the charioteer drove too near it, he was in danger of dashing the chariot to pieces; and if he kept too wide of it, his nearest antagonist might cut the way

upon him, and get foremost.

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It is obvious that these chariot-races could not be run without fome danger; for as the * motion of the wheels was very rapid, and grazed against the boundary in turning, the least error in driving would have broke the chariot in pieces, and might have dangeroufly wounded the charioteer. An example of which we find in the Electra of Sophocles, who gives an admirable description of this kind of race, run by ten competitors. The false Orestes, at the twelsth and last round, having only one antagonist, the rest having been thrown out, was fo unfortunate to break one of his wheels against the boundary, and falling out of his feat entangled in the reins, the horses dragged him violently forwards along with them, and tore him to pieces: but this very feldom happened. (f) To avoid such danger, Nestor gives the following directions to his fon Antilochus, who was going to dispute the prize in the chariot-races. "My fon," fays he, " drive your horses as near as possible to "the turning; for which reason always inclining " your body over your chariot, get the left of your " competitors, and encouraging the horse on the right, " give him the rein, whilft the near horse, hard held, "turns the boundary fo close to it, that the nave of " the wheel feems to graze upon it; but have a care

" of running against the stone, lest you wound your

" horses, and dash the chariot in pieces."

Father Montfaucon mentions a difficulty, in his

(f) Hom. Il. l. 23. v. 334, &c.

^{*} Metaque fervidis Evitata rotis. Horat. Od. I. The goal shun'd by the burning wheels.

opinion very confiderable, in regard to the places of those, who contended for the prize in the chariot-race. They all flarted indeed from the fame line, and at the same time, and so far had no advantage of each other; but he, whose lot gave him the first place, being nearest the boundary at the end of the career, and having but a small compass to describe in turning about it, had less way to make than the second, third, fourth, &c; especially when the chariots were drawn by four horses, which took up a greater space between the first and the others, and obliged them to make a larger circle in coming round. This advantage twelve times together, as it must happen, admitting the Stadium was to be run round twelve times, gave fuch a fuperiority to the first, as seemed to assure him infallibly of the victory against all his competitors. To me it feems, that the fleetness of the horses, joined with the address of the driver, might countervail this odds; either by getting before the first, or by taking his place, if not in the first, in some of the subsequent rounds: for it is not to be supposed, that in the progress of the race, the antagonists always continued in the same order they started. They often changed places in a short interval of time, and in that variety and viciffitude confifted all the diversion of the spectators.

It was not required, that those who disputed the victory should enter the lifts, and drive their chariots in person. Their being spectators of the games, or fending their horses thither was sufficient; but in either case, it was previously necessary to register the names of the persons, for whom the horses were to run, either in the chariot or fingle horse-races.

(g) At the time, that the city of Potidæa furrendered to Philip, three couriers brought him advices; the first, that the Illyrians had been defeated in a great battle by his general Parmenio; the fecond, that he had carried the prize of the horse-race in the Olym-

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⁽g) Plut, in Alex. p. 666.

pic games; and the third, that the queen was delivered of a fon. Plutarch feems to infinuate, that Philip was equally delighted with each of these circumstances.

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(b) Hiero fent horses to Olympia to run for the prize, and caused a magnificent pavilion to be erected for them. Upon this occasion Themistocles harangued the Greeks, to persuade them to pull down the tyrant's pavilion, who had refused his aid against the common enemy, and to hinder his horses from running with the rest. It does not appear that any regard was had to this remonstrance; for we find by one of Pindar's odes, composed in honour of Hiero,

that he won the prize in the equestrian races.

(i) No one ever carried the ambition of making a great figure in the public games of Greece fo far as Alcibiades, in which he distinguished himself in the most splendid manner, by the great number of horses and chariots, which he kept only for the races. There never was either private person or king, that fent, as he did, seven chariots at once to the Olympic games, wherein he carried the first, second, and third prizes; an honour no one ever had before him. The famous poet Euripides celebrated these victories in an ode, of which Plutarch has preferved a fragment, in vit. Alcib. The victor, after having made a sumptuous facrifice to Jupiter, gave a magnificent feast to the innumerable multitude of the spectators at the games. It is not easy to comprehend, how the wealth of a private person should suffice to so enormous an expence: but Antisthenes, the scholar of Socrates, who relates what he faw, informs us, that many cities of the allies, in a kind of emulation with each other, supplied Alcibiades with all things necessary for the support of such incredible magnificence. Equipages, horses, tents, sacrifices, the most exquisite provisions, the most delicate wines, in a word, all that was necessary to the support of his table or train.

(i) Plut. in Alcibiad. p. 196. (b) Plut. in Themist. p. 124. The

The passage is remarkable; for the same author asfures us, that this was not only done when Alcibiades went to the Olympic games, but in all his military expeditions and journeys by land or fea. " Where-" ever," fays he, " Alcibiades travelled, he made " use of four of the allied cities as his servants. Ephe-" fus furnished him with tents, as magnificent as those of the Persians. Chios took care to provide " for his horses; Cyzicum supplied him with facrifices, and provisions for his table; and Lesbos gave " him wine, with all the other necessaries of his " house."

I must not omit, in speaking of the Olympic games, that the ladies were admitted to dispute the prize in them as well as the men; which many of them obtained. (k) Cynisca, sister of Agesilaus king of Sparta, first opened this new path of glory to her sex, and was proclaimed victrix in the race of chariots with four horses. (1) This victory, which till then had no example, did not fail of being celebrated with ail possible splendor. (m) A magnificent monument was erected in Sparta in honour of Cynisca; and the Lacedæmonians, though otherwise very little sensible to the charms of poetry, appointed a poet to transmit this new triumph to posterity, and to immortalize its memory by an inscription in verse. (n) She herself dedicated a chariot of brafs, drawn by four horfes, in the temple of Delphos; in which the charioteer was also represented; a certain proof that she did not drive it herself. (a) In process of time the picture of Cynisca, drawn by the famous Apelles, was annexed to it, and the whole adorned with many infcriptions in honour of that Spartan heroine.

(k) Paufan. l. 3. p. 172. (1) p. 288. (m) p. 272.

(n) Id. l. 5. p. 309. (o) Paufan. l. 6. p. 344.

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SECT. VIII. Of the honours and rewards, granted to the victors.

THESE honours and rewards were of feveral kinds. The spectators acclamations in honour of the victors were only a prelude to the rewards defign-These rewards were different wreaths of wild olive, pine, parsley, or laurel, according to the different places where the games were celebrated. Those crowns were always attended with branches of palm, that the victors carried in their right hands; which custom, according to Plutarch (p), arose, (perhaps) from the nature of the palm-tree, which difplays new vigour the more endeavours are used to crush or bend it, and is a symbol of the champion's courage and refistance in the attainment of the prize. As he might be victor more than once in the same games, and fometimes on the fame day, he might also receive several crowns and palms.

When the victor had received the crown and palm, an herald, preceded by a trumpet, conducted him through the Stadium; and proclaimed aloud his name and country, who passed in that kind of review before the people, whilst they redoubled their acclama-

tions and applauses at the fight of him.

When he returned to his own country, the people came out in a body to meet him, and conducted him into the city, adorned with all the marks of his victory, and riding upon a chariot drawn by four horses. He made his entry not through the gates, but through a breach purposely made in the walls. Lighted torches were carried before him, and a numerous train followed to do honour to the procession.

The Athletic triumph almost always concluded with feasts, made for the victors, then relations and friends, either at the expence of the public, or by particulars, who regaled not only their families and friends, but often a great part of the spectators. (q) Alcibiades

⁽p) Sympof. 1. 8. quæs. 4. (q) Plut, in Alcib. p. 196.

after having facrificed to Jupiter, which was always the first care of the victor, treated the whole assembly. Leophron did the fame, as Athenæus reports (r); who adds, that Empedocles of Agrigentum, having conquered in the fame games, and not having it in his power, being a Pythagorean, to regale the people with flesh or fish, he caused an ox to be made of a paste, composed of myrrh, incense, and all forts of fpices, of which pieces were given to all who were

present.

One of the most honourable privileges, granted to the Athletic victors, was the right of taking place at the public games. At Sparta it was a custom for the king to take them with him in military expeditions to fight near his person, and to be his guard; which with reason was judged very honourable. Another privilege, in which the ufeful united with the honourable, was that of being maintained for the rest of their lives at the expence of their country. (s) That this expence might not become too chargeable to the state, Solon reduced the pension of a victor in the Olympic games to five hundred drachma's (t); in the Isthmian to an hundred (u), and in the rest in proportion. The victor, and his country confidered this pension less as a relief of the champion's indigence, than as a mark of honour and distinction. They were also exempted from all civil offices and employments.

The celebration of the games being over, one of the first applications of the magistrates, who presided in them, was to inscribe in the public register, the name and country of the Athletæ, who had carried the prizes, and to annex the species of combat, in which they had been victorious. The chariot-race had the preference to all other games. From whence the historians, who date their facts by the Olympiads, as Thucydides, Dionysius Halicarnasseus, Diodorus Sicul

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⁽r) Lib. 1. p. 3.

⁽r) Lib. 1. p. 3. (s) Diog. Laert. in Solon. p. 37. (t) 250 livres. (u, 50 livres.

culus, and Pausanias, almost always express the Olympiad by the name and country of the victors in that race.

The praises of the victorious Athletæ were amongst the Greeks one of the principal subjects of their lyric poetry. We find, that all the odes of the four books of Pindar turn upon it, each of which takes its title from the games, in which the combatants fignalized themselves, whose victories those poems celebrate. The poet indeed frequently enriches his matter, by calling in to the champion's affiftance, incapable alone of inspiring all the enthusiasm necessary, the aid of the gods, heroes, and princes, who have any relation to his subject; and to support the flights of imagination, to which he abandons himself. Before Pindar, the poet Simonides practifed the fame manner of writing, intermingling the praises of the gods and heroes with those of the champions, whose victories he fang. (x) It is related upon this head, that one of the victors in boxing, called Scopas, having agreed with Simonides for a poem upon his victory, the poet, according to custom, after having given the highest praises to the champion, expatiates in a long digression to the honour of Castor and Pollux. pas fatisfied in appearance with the performance of Simonides, paid him however only the third part of the sum agreed on, referring him for the remainder to the Tyndarides, whom he had celebrated fo well. And he was well paid their part in effect, if we may believe the fequel. For at the feast given by the champion, whilft the guests were at table, a servant came to Simonides, and told him, that two men, covered with dust and sweat, were at the door, and defired to speak with him in all haste. He had scarce fet his foot out of the chamber, in order to go to them, when the roof fell in, and crushed the champion with all his guests to death.

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⁽x) Cic. de orat. l. 2. n. 3,52, 353. Phæd. l. z. fab. 24. Quintil.

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Sculpture united with poetry to perpetuate the fame of the champions. Statues were erected to the victors, especially in the Olympic games, in the very place where they had been crowned, and fometimes in that of their birth also; which was commonly done at the expence of their country. Amongst the statues, which adorned Olympia, were those of feveral children of ten or twelve years old, who had obtained the prize at that age in the Olympic games. They did not only raise such monuments to the champions, but to the very horses, to whose swiftness they were indebted for the Agonistic crown; and (y) Pausanias mentions one, which was erected in honour of a mare, called Aura, whose history is worth repeating. Phidolas, her rider, having fallen off in the beginning of the race, the mare continued to run in the same manner as if he had been upon her back. She outstript all the rest, and upon the found of the trumpets, which was usual toward the end of the race to animate the competitors, she redoubled her vigour and courage, turned round the goal; and, as if the had been fenfible of the victory, presented herself before the judges The Elæans declared Phidolas victor, of the games. with permission to erect a monument to himself and the mare, that had ferved him fo well.

SECT. IX. The different taste of the Greeks and Romans, in regard to public shews.

BEFORE I make an end of observing upon the combats and games so much in estimation amongst the Greeks, I beg the reader's permission to make a restection, that may serve to explain the different characters of the Greeks and Romans, with regard to this subject.

The most common entertainment of the latter, at which the fair sex, by nature tender and compassionate, were present in throngs, was the combats of the gladiators, and of men with bears and lions; in which

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the cries of the wounded and dying, and the abundant effusion of human blood, supplied a grateful spechacle for a whole people, who feasted their cruel eyes with the favage pleasure of feeing men murder one another in cool blood, and in the times of the perfecutions, with the tearing in pieces of old men and infants, of women and tender virgins, whose age and weakness are apt to excite compassion in the hardest

In Greece these combats were absolutely unknown, and were only introduced into fome cities, after their subjection to the Roman people. (2) The Athenians, however, whose distinguishing characteristicks were benevolence and humanity, never admitted them into their city; and when it was proposed to introduce the combats of the gladiators, that they might not be outdone by the Corinthians in that point, First throw down, cried out an * Athenian from the midst of the affembly, throw down the altar, erected above a thou-

fand years ago by our ancestors to Mercy.

It must be allowed in this respect, that the conduct and wisdom of the Greeks was infinitely superior to that of the Romans. I speak of the wisdom of Pagans. Convinced that the multitude, too much governed by the objects of fense to be sufficiently amufed and entertained with the pleasures of the understanding, could be delighted only with sensible objects, both nations were studious to divert them with games and shews, and such external contrivances, as were proper to affect the fenses. In the institution of which, each follows its peculiar genius and disposition.

The Romans, educated in war, and accustomed to battles, retained, notwithstanding the politeness upon which they piqued themselves, something of their antient ferocity; and hence it was, that the effusion of blood, and the murders exhibited in their public shews,

⁽z) Lucian in vit. Demonact. p. 1014.

had been. He flourished in the * It was Demonax a celebrated reign of Marcus Aurelius, philosopher, whose disciple Lucian

far from inspiring them with horror, was a grateful

entertainment to them.

The infolent pomp of triumphs flows from the fame fource, and argues no less inhumanity. To obtain this honour, it was necessary to prove, that eight or ten thousand men at least had been killed in battle. The spoils, which were carried with so much oftentation, proclaimed, that an infinity of honest families had been reduced to the utmost misery. The innumerable troop of captives had been free persons a few days before, and were often distinguishable for honour, merit, and virtue. The representation of the towns that had been taken in the war, explained, that they had facked, plundered, and burnt the most opulent cities; and either destroyed, or enslaved their inhabitants. In fine, nothing was more inhuman, than to drag kings and princes in chains before the chariot of a Roman citizen, and to infult their misfortunes and humiliation in that public manner.

(a) The triumphal arches, erected under the emperors, where the enemies appeared with chains upon their hands and legs, could proceed only from an haughty fierceness of disposition, and an inhuman pride, that took delight in immortalizing the shame

and forrow of subjected nations.

The joy of the Greeks after a victory was far more modest. They erected trophies indeed, but of wood, a matter little durable, which would soon consume; and those it was prohibited to renew. Plutarch's reason for this is admirable*. After time had destroyed and obliterated the marks of dissension and enmity, that had divided the people, it would have been the excess of odious and barbarous animosity, to have thought of re-establishing them, and to have perpetuated the remembrance of antient quarrels, which

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⁽a) Plut. in Quæft. Rom. p. 273.

^{*} Ότι το χρόνο τὰ σημεῖα λαμθάνειν κὰ καινοποιεῖν ἐπιφθοτῆς πρὸς τὸς πολεμίος Δία.Φο- νόν ἐςι κὰ Φιλαπεχθημον. ἐᾶς ὑμαυροντΦ, ἀυτὸς ἀνα-

could not be buried too foon in filence and oblivion. He adds, that the trophies of stone and brass, since substituted to those of wood, reflect no honour upon those who introduced the custom.

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(b) I am pleased with the grief of Agesilaus's countenance after a confiderable victory, wherein a great number of his enemies, that is to fay of Greeks, were left upon the field, and to hear him utter, with fighs and groans, these words, so full of moderation and humanity: " Oh unhappy Greece, to deprive thy " felf of fo many brave citizens, and to destroy those " who had been fufficient to have conquered all the " Barbarians!"

The fame spirit of moderation and humanity prevailed in the public shews of the Greeks. Their feflivals had nothing mournful or afflictive in them. Every thing in those feasts tended to delight, friendship, and harmony: and in that confisted one of the greatest advantages which resulted to Greece, from the folemnization of these games. The republics, separated by diffance of country, and diversity of interests, having the opportunity of meeting from time to time in the same place, and in the midst of rejoicing and festivity, allied themselves more strictly with one another, apprized each other of their strength, animated each other against the Barbarians and the common enemies of their liberty, and made up their differences by the mediation of some neutral state in alliance with them. The fame language, manners, facrifices, exercises, and worship, all conspired to unite the feveral little states of Greece into one great and formidable nation; and to preserve amongst them the fame disposition, the same principles, the same zeal for their liberty, and the same passion for the arts and sciences.

⁽b) Plut. in Lacon. Apophthegm. p. 211.

ARTICLE IV.

Of the prizes of wit, and the shews and representations of the theatre.

I have referved for the conclusion of this head another kind of competition, which does not at all depend upon the strength, activity, and address of the body, and may be called with reason the combat of the mind; wherein the orators, historians, and poets, made trial of their capacities, and submitted their productions to the censure and judgment of the public. The emulation in this fort of dispute was most lively and arrient, as the victory in question might justly be deemed to be infinitely superior to all the others, because it affects the man more nearly, is sounded in his personal and internal qualities, and decides the merit of his wit and capacity; which are advantages we are apt to aspire at with the utmost vivacity and passion, and of which we are least of all inclined to renounce the glory to others.

It was a great honour, and at the same time a most sensible pleasure, for writers, who are generally fond of same and applause, to have known how to reconcile the voices in their savour of so numerous and select an assembly, as that of the Olympic games; in which were present all the finest geniusses of Greece, and all the best judges of the excellency of a work, This theatre was equally open to history, eloquence,

and poetry.

Herodotus read his history in the Olympic games to all Greece, assembled at them, and was heard with such applause, that the names of the nine Muses were given to the nine books, which compose his work, and the people cried out wherever he passed, That's he, who has wrote our history, and celebrated our glorious successes against the barbarians so excellently.

All who had been present at the games did after-

(c) Lucian, in Herod. p. 622.

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name and glory of this illustrious historian.

Lucian, who writes the fact I have repeated, adds, that after the example of Herodotus, many of the fophists and rhetoricians went to Olympia to read the harangues of their composing; finding that the shortest and most certain method of acquiring a great reputation in a little time.

(d) Plutarch observes, that Lysias the famous Athenian orator, cotemporary with Herodotus, pronounced a speech in the Olympic games, wherein he congratulated the Greeks upon their reconciliation with each other, and their having united to reduce the power of Dionysius the tyrant, as upon the greatest action

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(e) We may judge of the passion of the poets to signalize themselves in these solemn games, from that of Dionyfius himself. That prince, who had the soolish vanity to believe himself the most excellent poet of his time, appointed readers, called in the Greek judgood, (Rhapfodists,) to read several pieces of his composing at Olympia. When they began to pronounce the verses of the royal poet, the strong and harmonious voices of the readers occasioned a profound filence, and they were heard at first with the greatest attention, which continually decreased as they went on, and turned at last into downright horse-laughs and hooting; fo miserable did the verses appear. (f) He comforted himself for this disgrace by a victory he gained sometime after in the feast of Bacchus at Athens, in which he caused a tragedy of his composition to be represented.

The disputes of the poets in the Olympic games were nothing, in comparison with the ardor and emulation, expressed by them at Athens: which is what remains to be said upon this subject, and therefore I shall conclude with it; taking occasion to give my

(f) Diod. 1. 15. p. 384.

⁽d) Plut. de vit. Orat. p. 836. (e) Diod. l. 14. p. 318.

readers at the same time, a short view of the shews and representations of the theatre of the antients. Those, who would be more fully informed in this subject, will find it treated at large in a work lately made public by the reverend father Brumoi, the Jesuit; a work, which abounds with prosound knowledge and erudition, and with reslections entirely new, deduced from the nature of the poems, of which it treats. I shall make considerable use of that piece, and often without citing it; which is not uncommon with me.

SECT. I. Extraordinary passion of the Athenians for the entertainments of the stage. Emulation of the poets in disputing the prizes in those representations. A short idea of dramatic poetry.

N O people ever expressed so much ardor and pasfion for the entertainments of the theatre as the Greeks, and especially the Athenians. The reason of which is obvious: no people ever demonstrated such extent of genius, nor carried fo far the love of eloquence and poefy, tafte for the sciences, justness of fentiments, elegance of ear, and delicacy in all the * A poor woman, who refinements of language. fold herbs at Athens, distinguished Theophrastus to be a stranger by a fingle word, which he made use of in expressing himself. The common people got the tragedies of Euripides by heart. The genius of every nation expresses itself in the people's manner of pasfing their time, and in their pleasures. The great employment and delight of the Athenians were to amuse themselves with works of wit, and to judge of the dramatic pieces, that were acted by the public authority several times a year, especially at the fealts of Bacchus, when the tragic and comic poets disputed for the prize. The former used to present four of their pieces at a time; except Sophocles, who did not

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The state appointed judges, to determine upon the merit of the tragic or comic pieces, before they were represented in the festivals. They were acted before them in the presence of the people; but undoubtedly with no great preparation. The judges gave their fuffrages, and that performance, which had the most voices, was declared victorious, received the crown as fuch, and was received with all possible pomp at the expence of the republic. This did not, however, exclude fuch pieces, as were only in the fecond or third class. The best had not always the preference; for what times were exempt from party, caprice, ignorance, and prejudice? (g) Ælian is very angry with the judges, who, in one of these disputes, gave only the second place to Euripides. He accuses them of judging either without capacity, or of giving their voices for hire. It is easy to conceive the warmth and emulation, which these disputes and public rewards excited amongst the poets, and how much they contributed to the perfection, to which Greece carried dramatic performances.

The dramatic poem introduces the persons themfelves, speaking and acting upon the stage: in the epic, on the contrary, only the poet relates the different adventures of his characters. It is natural to be delighted with fine descriptions of events, in which illustrious persons and whole nations are interested; and hence the epic poem had its origin. But we are quite differently affected with hearing those persons themselves, with being confidents of their most secret fentiments, and auditors and spectators of their resolutions, enterprizes, and the happy, or unhappy events attending them. To read, and fee an action, are quite different things. We are infinitely more moved with what is acted, than with what we read. The

(g) Ælian. 1, 2, c. 8,

spectator, agreeably deceived by an imitation so nearly approaching life, mistakes the picture for the original, and thinks the object real. This gave birth to dramatic poetry, which includes tragedy and comedy.

To these may be added the satyric poem, which derives its name from the Satyrs, rural gods, who were the chief characters in it; and not from the Satire, a kind of abusive poetry, which has no resemblance to this, and is of a much later date. The satyric poem was neither tragedy nor comedy, but something between both, participating of the character of each. The poets, who disputed the prize, generally added one of these pieces to their tragedies, to allay the grave and solemn of the one, with the mirth and pleasantry of the other. There is but one example of this antient poem come down to us, which is the Cyclops of Euripides.

I shall confine myself upon this head to tragedy and comedy; which had both their origin amongst the Greeks, who looked upon them as fruits of their own growth, of which they could never have enough. Athens was remarkable for an extraordinary appetite of this kind. These two poems, which were a long time comprized under the general name of tragedy, received there by degrees such improvements, as at

length raised them to their last persection.

SECT. II. The origin and progress of Tragedy. Poets who excelled in it at Athens; Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides.

THERE had been many tragic and comic poets before Thespis; but as they had altered nothing in the original rude form of this poem, and Thespis was the first that made any improvement in it, he was generally esteemed its inventor. Before him, tragedy was no more than a jumble of bussion tales in the comic style, intermixed with the singing of a chorus in praise of Bacchus; for it is to the seasts of that

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god, celebrated at the time of the vintage, that tragedy owes its birth.

(b) La Tragedie, informe & grossiere en naissant, N'etoit qu'un simple Chœur, où chacun en dansant, Et du dieu des raisins entonnant les louanges, S'efforçoit d'attirer de fertiles vendanges.

Là, le vin & la joie eveillant les esprits,
Du plus habile chantre un bouc etoit le prix.

Formless and gross did tragedy arise.

A simple chorus, rather mad than wise;
For fruitful vintages the dancing throng
Roar'd to the god of grapes a drunken song:
Wild mirth, and wine, sustain'd the frantic note,
And the best singer had the prize, a goat.

Thespis made several alterations in it, which Horace describes after Aristotle, in his art of poetry. The * first was to carry his actors about in a cart, whereas before they used to fing in the streets, whereever chance led them. Another was to have their faces smeared over with wine-lees instead of acting without disguise as at first. He also introduced a character amongst the chorus, who, to give the actors time to rest themselves, and to take breath, repeated the adventures of some illustrious person; which recital, at length, gave place to the subjects of tragedy.

(i) Thespis sut le premier, qui barbouillé de lie, Promena par les bourgs cette heureuse solie, Et d'Acteurs mal ornés chargeant un tombereau, Amusa les passans d'un spectacle nouveau. First Thespis, smear'd with lees, and void of art, The grateful folly vented from a cart;

(b) Boileau Art. Poet. Cant. 3. (i) Ibid.

* Ignotum tragicæ genus invenisse Camænæ
Dicitur, et plaustris vexisse poemata Thespis,
Quæ canerent agerentque peruncti sæcibus ora. Hor. de Art. Poet.
When Thespis first exposed the tragic muse,
Rude were the actors, and a cart the scene,
Where ghastly faces, smeared with lees of wine,
Frighted the children, and amus'd the crowd.

Roscom, Art of Poet.

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chothat god, And as his tawdry actors drove about, The fight was new, and charm'd the gaping rout.

(k) Thespis lived in the time of Solon. That wise legislator, upon seeing his pieces performed, expressed his dislike, by striking his staff against the ground; apprehending, that these poetical sictions, and idle stories, from mere theatrical representations would soon become matters of importance, and have too great a

share in all public and private affairs.

It is not so easy to invent, as to improve the inventions of others. The alterations Thespis made in tragedy gave room for Æschylus to make new and more confiderable of his own. (1) He was born at Athens, in the first year of the fixtieth Olympiad. He took upon him the profession of arms, at a time when the Athenians reckoned almost as many heroes as citizens. He was at the battles of Marathon, Salamis, and Platæa, where he did his duty. (m) But his disposition called him elsewhere, and put him upon entering into another course, where no less glory was to be acquired; and where he was foon without any competitors. As a superior genius, he took upon him to reform, or rather to create tragedy anew; of which he has, in consequence, been always acknowledged the inventor, and father. F. Brumoi, in a differtation which abounds with wit and good fense, explains the manner in which Æschylus conceived the true idea of tragedy from Homer's epic poems. poet himself used to say, that his works were only copies in relievo of Homer's draughts in the Iliad and Odyffey.

Tragedy therefore took a new form under him. He gave * masks to his actors, adorned them with

robes

(k) A. M. 3440. Ant. J. C. 564. Plut. in Solon. p. 95.
(l) A. M. 3464. Ant. J. C. 540. (m) A. M. 3314. Ant.
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^{*} Post hunc personæ pallæque repertor honestæ Æschylus, et modicis instravit pulpita tignis, Et docuit magnumque loqui, nitique cothurno. Hor. ibid,

robes and trains, and made them wear buskins. Instead of a cart he erected a theatre of a moderate extent, and entirely changed their style; which from being merry and burlesque as at first, became majestic and serious.

(n) Eschyle dans le Chœur jetta les personages: D'un masque plus honnête habilla les visages: Sur les ais d'un theatre en public exhaussé Fit paroitre l'Acteur d'un brodequin chaussé. From Æschylus the chorus learnt new grace; He veil'd with decent masks the actor's face, Taught him in buskins sirst to tread the stage, And rais'd a theatre to please the age.

But that was only the external part or body of tra-Its foul, which was the most important and essential addition of Æschylus, consisted in the vivacity and spirit of the action, sustained by the dialogue of the persons of the drama introduced by him; in the artful working up of the greater passions, especially of terror and pity, that, by alternately afflicting and agitating the foul with mournful or terrible objects, produce a grateful pleasure and delight from that very trouble and emotion; in the choice of a subject great, noble, affecting, and contained within the due bounds of time, place, and action. In fine, it is the conduct and disposition of the whole piece, which, by the order and harmony of its parts, and the happy connection of its incidents and intrigues, holds the mind of the spectator in suspense till the catastrophe, and then restores him his tranquillity, and dismisses him with satisfaction.

The chorus had been established before Æschylus, as it composed alone, or next to alone, what was

(n) Boileau Art. Poet.

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This Æschylus (with indignation) saw, And built a stage, found out a decent dress, Brought wixards in (a ciwiler disguise) And taught men how to speak, and how to act.

Rofcom. Art. Poet.

then called tragedy. He did not therefore exclude it, but on the contrary thought fit to incorporate it, to fing as chorus between the acts. Thus it supplied the interval of resting, and was a kind of person of the drama, employed * either in giving useful counsels and falutary instructions, in espousing the party of innocence and virtue, in being the depositary of secrets, and the avenger of violated religion, or to sustain all those characters at the same time according to Horace. The Coryphæus, or principal person of the chorus, spoke for the rest.

In one of Æschylus's pieces, called the Eumenides, the poet represents Orestes at the bottom of the stage, surrounded by the suries laid asseep by Apollo. Their sigure must have been extremely horrible, as it is related, that upon their waking and appearing tumultuously on the theatre, where they were to act as a chorus, some women miscarried with the surprize, and several children died of the fright. The chorus at that time consisted of sifty actors. After this accident, it was reduced to sifteen by an express law, and

at length to twelve.

I have observed, that one of the alterations made by Æschylus in tragedy was the mask, worn by his

Actoris partes chorus officiumque virile Defendat, neu quid medios intercinat actus Quod non proposito conducat, et hæreat apte. Ille bonis faveatque, et concilietur amicis, Et regat iratos, et amet peccare timentes. ·Ille dapes laudet mensæ brevis; ille salubrem Justitiam, legesque, et apertis otia portis. Ille tegat commissa, deosque precetur et oret, Ut redeat miseris, abeat fortuna superbis. Hor. de Art. Pett. The chorus should supply what action wants, And bath a generous and manly part; Bridles wild rage, loves rigid bonesty, And strict observance of impartial laws, Sobriety, security, and peace, And begs the gods to turn blind fortune's rubeel, To raise the wretched, and pull down the proud: But nothing must be sung between the acts, But what some way conduces to the plot. Roscom, Art of Poetry translat. actors.

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* Quo n qui personat V O L actors. These dramatic masks had no resemblance to ours which only cover the face, but were a kind of case for the whole head, and which besides the sea. tures, represented the beard, the hair, the ears, and even the ornaments, used by women in their headdreffes. These masks varied according to the different pieces that were acted. They are treated at large in a differtation of Mr. Boindin's, inferted in the me-

moirs of the academy of Belles Lettres (o).

I could never comprehend, as I have observed elsewhere (p) in speaking of pronunciation, how masks came to continue fo long upon the stage of the antients; for certainly they could not be used, without confiderably flattening the spirit of the action; which is principally expressed in the countenance, the seat and mirror of what passes in the soul. Does it not often happen, that the blood, according to its being put in motion by different passions, sometimes covers the face with a fudden and modest blush, sometimes enflames it with the heats of rage and fury, sometimes retires, leaving it pale with fear, and at others diffuses a calm and amiable serenity over it? All these affections are strongly imaged and distinguished in the lineaments of the face. The mask deprives the seatures of this energy of language, and of that life and foul, by which it is the faithful interpreter of all the fentiments of the heart. I do not wonder therefore at Cicero's remark upon the action of Roscius. * Our ancestors, fays he, were better judges than we are. They could not wholly approve even Roscius himself. whilst he performed in a mask.

Æschylus was in the sole possession of the glory of the stage, with almost every voice in his favour, when a young rival made his appearance to dispute the palm with him. This was Sophocles. He was born at Colonos, a town in Attica, in the second year of the

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⁽p) Manner of teaching &c. Vol. IV. (0) Vol. IV.

Quo melius nostri illi senes, dem, magnopere laudabant. Lib. 3. qui personatum, ne Rescium qui- de orat. n. 221.

feventy first Olympiad. His father was a blacksmith, or one who kept people of that trade to work for him. His first essay was a master-piece. When upon the occasion of Cymon's having found the bones of Theseus, and their being brought to Athens, a dispute between the tragic poets was appointed, Sophocles entered the lifts with Æschylus, and carried the prize against him. The antient victor, laden till then with the wreaths he had acquired, believed them all loft by failing of the laft, and withdrew in disgust into Sicily to king Hiero, the protector and patron of all the learned in difgrace at Athens. He died there foon after in a very fingular manner, if we may believe Suidas. As he lay afleep in the fields with his head bare, an eagle taking his bald crown for a stone, let a tortoise fall upon it, which killed him. Of ninety, or at least seventy tragedies, com-

posed by him, only seven are now extant,

Nor have those of Sophocles escaped the injury of time better, though one hundred and feventeen in number, and according to fome, one hundred and thirty. He retained to extreme old age all the force and vigour of his genius, as appears from a circumstance in his history. His children, unworthy of so great a father, upon pretence that he had loft his fenses, summoned him before the judges, in order to obtain a decree, that his estate might be taken from him, and put into their hands. He made no other defence, than to read a tragedy he was at that time composing, called Œdipus at Colonos, with which the judges were fo charmed, that he carried his cause unanimously, and his children, detested by the whole affembly, got nothing by their fuit, but the shame and infamy of fo flagrant an ingratitude. He was twenty times crowned victor. Some fay he expired in repeating his Antigone, for want of power to recover his breath after a violent endeavour to pronounce a long period to the end. Others, that he died of joy upon his being declared victor contrary to his expectation.

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⁽⁹⁾ A. M. J. C. 48c. * Sentent

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pectation. The figure of an hive was placed upon his tomb, to perpetuate the name of bee, which had been given him from the sweetness of his verses: whence it is probable the notion was derived of the bees having fettled upon his lips, when in his cradle. He died in his ninetieth year (q), the fourth of the ninety third Olympiad, after having furvived Euripi-

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The latter was born in the first year of the seventy fifth Olympiad (r), at Salamin, whither his father Menefarchus and mother Clito had retired, when Xerxes was preparing his great expedition against Greece. He applied himself at first to philosophy, and amongst others had the celebrated Anaxagoras for his mafter. But the danger incurred by that great man, who was very near being made the victim of his philosophical tenets, inclined him to the study of poetry. He difcovered in himself a genius for the drama unknown to him at first, and employed it with fuch fuccess. that he entered the lifts with the greatest masters, of whom we have been speaking. * His works sufficiently denote his profound application to philosophy. They abound with excellent maxims of morality, and it is in that view Socrates in his time, and † Cicero long after him, fet so high a value upon Euripides.

One cannot sufficiently admire the extreme delicacy, expressed by the Athenian audience on certain occasions, and their folicitude to preserve the reverence due to morality, virtue, decency, and justice. It is furprizing to observe the warmth, with which they unanimoufly reproved whatever feemed inconfishent with them, and called the poet to an account for it, notwithstanding his having the best founded excuse.

⁽⁹⁾ A. M. 3599. Ant. J. C. 405. (r) A. M. 3524. Ant. J. C. 48c.

^{*} Sententiis densus, et in iis quæ Quintil. 1. 10. C. 1.

[†] Cui (Euripidi) quantum cre-

das nescio; ego certe fingulos ejus sapientibus sunt pene ipsis est par. versus singula testimonia putc. Epift. 8. l. 14. ad famil.

in giving such sentiments only to persons notoriously vicious, and actuated by the most unjust passions.

Euripides had put into the mouth of Bellerophon a pompous panegyric upon riches, which concluded with this thought; Riches are the supreme good of human race, and with reason excite the admiration of the gods and men. The whole theatre cried out against these expressions, and he would have been banished directly, if he had not desired the sentence to be respited, till the conclusion of the piece, in which the advocate for riches perished miserably.

He was in danger of incurring no common inconveniences from an answer he makes Hippolitus give his mother, upon her representing to him, that he had engaged himself under an inviolable oath to keep her secret. My tongue it is true pronounced that oath, replied he, but my heart gave no consent to it. This frivolous distinction appeared to the whole people, as an express contempt of the religion and sanctity of an oath, that tended to banish all sincerity and faith from

fociety, and the commerce of life.

Another maxim * advanced by Eteocles in the tragedy called the Phœnicians, and which Cæsar had always in his mouth, is no less pernicious. If justice may be violated at all, it is when a throne is in question; in other respects let it be duly revered. It is highly criminal in Eteocles, or rather in Euripides, says Cicero, to make an exception in that very point, wherein such violation is the highest crime that can be committed. Eteocles is a tyrant, and speaks like a tyrant, who vindicates his unjust conduct by a salse maxim; and it is not strange, that Cæsar, who was a tyrant by nature, and equally unjust, should apply the sentiments of a prince, whom he so much resembled.

Nam, si violandum est jus, reg-

nandi gratia violandum est; aliis rebus pietatem colas.

Capitalis Eteocles, vel potius Euripides, qui id unum quod omnium sceleratissimum suerat, exceperit. Offic. l. 3. n. 82.

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^{*} Ipse autem socer (Cæsar) in ore semper Græcos versus Euripidis de Phænissis habebat, quos dicam ut potero, inconditè fortasse, sed tamen ut res possit intelligi.

But what is remarkable in Cicero, is his falling upon the poet himself, and imputing to him as a crime, the having advanced fo pernicious a principle upon the

stage.

(s) Lycurgus, the orator, who lived in the time of Philip and Alexander the Great, to re-animate the spirit of the tragic poets, caused three statues of brass to be erected in the name of the people to Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides; and having ordered their works to be transcribed, he appointed them to be carefully preserved amongst the public archives, from whence they were taken from time to time to be read; the players not being permitted to represent them on the stage.

The reader expects no doubt, after what has been faid upon the three poets, who invented, improved, and carried tragedy to its perfection, that I should observe upon the peculiar excellencies of their style and character. For that I must refer to father Brumoi, who will do it much better than is in my power. After having laid down, as an undoubted principle, that the epic poem, that is to fay Homer, pointed out the way for the tragic poets, and having demonstrated, by reflections drawn from human nature, upon what principles and by what degrees this happy imitation was conducted to its end, he goes on to describe the three poets, upon whom he treats in the most lively and shining colours.

Tragedy took at first from Æschylus, its inventor, a much more lofty ftyle than the Iliad; that is, the magnum loqui mentioned by Horace. Perhaps Æfchylus, who was its author, was too pompous, and carried the tragic style too high. It is not Homer's trumpet, but fomething more. His founding, swelling, gigantic diction, resembles rather the beating of drums and the shouts of battle, than the nobler har-The elevamony and filver found of the trumpet. tion and grandeur of his genius, would not admit

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⁽s) Plut. in vit. 10. orat. p. 841.

him to speak the language of other men; so that his muse seemed rather to walk in stilts, than in the buskins of his own invention.

Sophocles understood much better the true excellence of the dramatic style: he therefore copies Homer more closely, and blends in his diction that honeyed sweetness, from whence he was denominated the Bee, with a gravity, that gives his tragedy the modest air of a matron, compelled to appear in public with dignity, as Horace expresses it.

The style of Euripides, though noble, is less removed from the familiar; and he feems to have affected rather the pathetic and the elegant, than the

nervous and the lofty.

As Corneille, fays Mr. Brumoi in another place, after having opened to himfelf a path entirely new and unknown to the antients, feems like an eagle towering in the clouds, from the sublimity, force, unbroken progress and rapidity of his flight; and as Racine, in copying the antients in a manner entirely his own, imitates the fwan, that fometimes floats upon the air, fometimes rifes, then falls again with an excellence of motion, and a grace peculiar to herfelf; fo Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, have each of them a particular tour and method. The first, as the inventor and father of tragedy, is like a torrent rolling impetuously over rocks, forests, and precipices. The fecond refembles a * canal, which flows gently through delicious gardens; and the third a river, that does not follow its course in a continued line, but loves to turn and wind his filver wave through flowery meads, and rural scenes.

Mr. Brumoi gives this character of the three poets, to whom the Athenian stage was indebted for its

elevation. That of an impetuous and rapid stream, whose waves, from the violence of their motion, are loud, and to be heard afar off, feems to me a more suitable image of that poet.

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^{*} I tannot tell whether the idea of a canal, that flows gently through delicious gardens, may properly imply the character of Sophocles, which is peculiarly distinguished by nobleness, grandeur, and

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perfection in tragedy. * Æschylus drew it out of its original chaos and confusion, and made it appear in some degree of lustre; but it still retained the rude unfinished air of things in their beginning, which are generally desective in point of art and method. Sophocles and Euripides added infinitely to the dignity of tragedy. The style of the first, as has been observed, is more noble and majestic; of the latter, more tender and pathetic; each persect in their way. In this diversity of character, it is difficult to resolve which is most excellent. The learned have always been divided upon this head; as we are at this day, in regard to the two poets of our own nation, whose tragedies have made our stage illustrious, and not inferior to that of Athens.

I have observed, that the tender and pathetic distinguishes the compositions of Euripides, of which Alexander of Pheræ, the most cruel of tyrants, was a proof. That barbarous man, upon seeing the Troades of Euripides acted, found himself so moved with it, that he quitted the theatre before the conclusion of the play; professing, that he was ashamed to be seen in tears for the distress of Hercules and Andromache, who had never shewn the least compassion for his own citizens, of whom he had butchered such numbers.

When I speak of the tender and pathetic, I would not be understood to mean a passion, that softens the heart into esseminacy, and which, to our reproach, is almost only received upon our stage, though rejected by the antients, and condemned by the nations around us of greatest reputation for their genius, and taste of the sciences and polite learning. The two great principles for moving the passions amongst the antients, were terror and pity (t). And indeed, as we naturally determine every thing from its relation to our-

⁽t) 000 x 1/20.

^{*} Tragædias primus in lucem Æschylus protulit: sublimis, et gravis, et grandiloquus sæpe usque

ad vitium; sed rudis in plerisque et incompositus. Quintil. l. 10. c. 1.

felves, or our particular interest, when we see persons of exalted rank or virtue finking under great evils, the fear of the like misfortunes, with which we know that human life is on all fides invested, seizes upon us, and from a fecret impulse of self-love, we find ourfelves fenfibly affected with the diffresses of others: besides which, the sharing a * common nature with the rest of our species, makes us sensible to whatever befals them. Upon a close and attentive enquiry into those two passions, they will be found the most important, active, extensive, and general affections of the foul; including all orders of men, great and small, rich and poor, of whatever age or condition. Hence the antients, accustomed to consult nature, and to take her for their guide in all things, conceived terror and compassion to be the soul of tragedy. And for that reason that those affections ought to prevail in it. The passion of love was in no estimation amongst them, and had feldom any share in their dramatic pieces; though with us it is a received opinion, that they cannot be supported without it.

It is worth our trouble to examine briefly in what manner this paffion, which has always been deemed a weakness and a blemish in the greatest characters, got fuch footing upon our stage. Corneille, who was the first, who brought the French tragedy to any perfection, and whom all the rest have followed, found the whole nation enamoured to madness of romances, and little disposed to admire any thing not resembling them. From the defire of pleafing his audience, who were at the fame time his judges, he endeavoured to move them in the manner they had been accustomed to be affected; and by introducing love in his scenes, to bring them the nearer to the predominant tafte of the age for romance. From the same source arose that multiplicity of incidents, episodes, and adventures, with which our tragic pieces are crouded and obscured, so contrary to probability, which will not

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admit fuch a number of extraordinary and furprizing events in the short space of four and twenty hours, so contrary to the fimplicity of antient tragedy, and fo adapted to conceal, in the affemblage of so many different objects, the sterility of the genius of a poet, more intent upon the marvelous, than upon the probable and natural.

Both the Greeks and Romans have preferred the Iambic to the Heroic verse in their tragedies, not only as the first has a kind of dignity better adapted to the stage, but whilst it approaches nearer to prose, retains sufficiently the air of poetry to please the ear, and yet has too little of it to put the audience in mind of the poet, who ought not to appear at all in reprefentations, where other persons are supposed to speak and act. Monsieur Dacier makes a very just reflection in this respect. He says, that it is the missortune of our tragedy, to have almost no other verse than what it has in common with epic poetry, elegy, pastoral, fatyr, and comedy; whereas the learned languages have a great variety of verlification.

This inconvenience is highly obvious in our tragedy; which cannot avoid being removed by it from the natural and probable, as it obliges heroes, princes, kings, and queens, to express themselves in a pompous strain in their familiar conversation, which it would be ridiculous to attempt in real life. ving utterance to the most impetuous passions in an uniform cadence, and by hemistichs and rhimes, would undoubtedly be tedious and offensive to the ear, if the charms of poetry, the elegance of expreffion, and the spirit of the sentiments, and perhaps, more than all of them, the reliftiess force of custom, had not in a manner subjected our reason, and illuded our judgment.

It was not chance therefore, which fuggested to the Greeks the use of Iambics in their tragedy. ture itself feems to have dictated that kind of verse to them. Instructed by the same unerring guide,

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they made choice of a different verification for the chorus, more capable of affecting, and of being fung; because it was necessary for the poetry to shine out in all its lustre, whilst the free conversation between the real actors was suspended. The chorus was an embellishment of the representation, and a relaxation of the audience, and therefore required more exalted poetry and numbers to support it, when united with music and dancing.

SECT. III. Of the antient, middle, and new comedy.

WHILST tragedy rose in this manner at Athens, comedy, the fecond species of dramatic poetry, and which, till then, had been much neglected, began to be cultivated with more attention. Nature was the common parent of both. We are fenfibly affected with the dangers, diffresses, misfortunes, and in a word, with whatever relates to the lives and conduct of illustrious persons, and this gave birth to tragedy. And we are as curious to know the adventures, conduct, and defects of our equals; which supply us with occasions of laughing, and being merry at the expence of others. Hence comedy derives itfelf; which is properly an image of private life. Its defign is to expose defects and vices upon the stage, and by affixing ridicule to them, to make them contemptible; and confequently to instruct by diverting. Ridicule therefore, (or to express the same word by another, Pleasantry) ought to prevail in comedy.

This poem took at different times three different forms at Athens, as well from the genius of the poets, as from the influence of the government; which

occasioned various alterations in it.

The antient comedy, fo called * by Horace, and which he dates after the time of Æschylus, retained something of its original rudeness, and the liberty it

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^{*} Successit vetus his comædia non sine multa Laude. Hor, in Art. Poet.

had been used to take of buffooning and reviling the spectators from the cart of Thespis. Though it was become regular in its plan, and worthy of a great theatre, it had not learnt to be more referved. It represented real transactions, with the names, habits, gestures, and likeness in masks, of whomsoever it thought fit to facrifice to the public derision. In a flate where it was held good policy to unmask whatever carried the air of ambition, fingularity, or knavery, comedy assumed the privilege to harangue, reform, and advise the people upon the most important occasions, and interests. Nothing was spared in a city of fo much liberty, or rather licence, as Athens was at that time. Generals, magistrates, government, the very gods were abandoned to the poet's fatyrical vein; and all was well received, provided the comedy was diverting, and the Attic falt not wanting.

(u) In one of these comedies, not only the priest of Jupiter determines to quit his service, because more facrifices are not offered to the god; but Mercury himself comes in a starving condition to seek his fortune amongst mankind, and offers to serve as a porter, futtler, bailiff, guide, door-keeper, in short, in any capacity, rather than return to heaven. ther (x), the same gods in extreme want and necessity, from the birds having built a city in the air, whereby their provisions are cut off, and the smoke of incense and sacrifices prevented from ascending to heaven, depute three ambassadors in the name of Jupiter to conclude a treaty of accommodation with the birds upon fuch conditions as they shall approve. The chamber of audience, where the three famished gods are received, is a kitchen well-stored with excellent game of all forts. Here Hercules, deeply smitten with the smell of roast-meat, which he apprehends to be more exquisite and nutritious than that of incense, begs leave to make his abode, and to turn the spit, and affist the cook upon occasion. The other

(u) Plutus. (x) The Birds.

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pieces of Aristophanes abound with strokes still more satyrical and severe upon the principal divinities.

I am not much surprized at the poet's insulting the gods, and treating them with the utmost contempt, from whom he had nothing to fear: but I cannot help wondering at his having brought the most illustrious and powerful persons of Athens upon the stage, and that he presumed to attack the government itself without any manner of respect or reserve.

Cleon, having returned triumphant, contrary to the general expectation, from the expedition against Sphaceria, was looked upon by the people as the greatest captain of that age. Aristophanes, to set that bad man in a true light, who was the fon of a currier, and a currier himself, and whose rise was owing solely to his temerity and impudence, was fo bold as to make him the subject of a comedy (y), without being awed by his power and reputation: but he was obliged to play the part of Cleon himfelf, and appeared for the first time upon the stage in that character, not one of the comedians daring to reprefent him, nor to expose himfelf to the refentment of fo formidable an enemy. His face was smeared over with wine-lees; because no workman could be found, that would venture to make a mask resembling Cleon, as was usual, when persons were brought upon the flage. In this piece he reproaches him with embezzling the public treasures, with a violent passion for bribes and presents, with craft in feducing the people, and denies him the glory of the action at Sphacteria, which he attributes chiefly to the share his collegue had in it.

In the Acharnians, he accuses Lamachus of having been made general, rather by bribery than merit. He imputes to him his youth, inexperience, and idleness; at the same time, that he, and many others, convert to their own use the rewards due only to valour and real services. He reproaches the republic with their preference of the younger citizens to the elder in the

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government of the state, and the command of armies. He tells them plainly, that when the peace shall be concluded, neither Cleonymus, Hyperbolus, nor many other such knaves, all mentioned by name, shall have any share in the public affairs; they being always ready to accuse their fellow-citizens of crimes, and to enrich themselves, by such informations.

In his comedy called the Wasps, imitated by Racine in his Plaideurs, he exposes the mad passion of the people for prosecutions and tryals at law, and the enormous injustice frequently committed in passing

fentence and giving judgment.

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The poet (2), concerned to see the republic obstinately bent upon the unhappy expedition of Sicily, endeavours to excite in the people a final disgust for so ruinous a war, and to inspire them with the desire of a peace, as much the interest of the victors as the vanquished, after a war of several years duration, equally pernicious to each party, and capable of invol-

ving all Greece in ruin.

None of Aristophanes's pieces explains better his boldness, in speaking upon the most delicate affairs of the state in the crowded theatre, than his comedy called Lyfistrata. One of the principal magistrates of Athens had a wife of that name, who is supposed to have taken it into her head to compel Greece to conclude a peace. She relates, how during the war, the women enquiring of their husbands the result of their counsels, and whether they had not resolved to make peace with Sparta, received no answers but imperious looks, and orders to meddle with their own affairs: That however they perceived plainly to what a low condition the government was declined: that they took the liberty to remonstrate mildly to their hufbands upon the rashness of their counsels: but that their humble representations had no other effect than to offend and enrage them: that in fine, being confirmed by the general opinion of all Attica, that there were

(z) The Peace.

no longer any men in the state, nor heads for the administration of affairs, their patience being quite exhaufted, the women had thought it proper and adviseable to take the government upon themselves, and to preserve Greece, whether it would or no, from the folly and madness of its resolves. " For her part, "The declares, that the has taken possession of the city and treasury, in order, says she, to prevent Pi-" fander and his confederates, the four hundred ad-" ministrators, from exciting troubles according to their custom, and from robbing the public as usual." (Was ever any thing so bold?) She goes on with proving, that the women only are capable of retrieving affairs, by this burlefque argument; that admitting things to be in such a state of perplexity and confusion, the fex, accustomed to untangling their threads, were the only persons to set them right again, as being best qualified with the necessary address, temper, and moderation. The Athenian politics are thus made inferior to the abilities of the women, which are only reprefented in a ridiculous light, to turn the derision upon their husbands in the administration of the government.

These extracts from Aristophanes, taken almost word for word from father Brumoi, seemed to me very proper for a right understanding at once of that poet's character, and the genius of the antient comedy, which was, as we fee, a true fatyr of the most poignant and severe kind, that had assumed to itself an independency from respect to persons, and to which nothing was facred. It is no wonder that Cicero condemns fo licentious and excessive a liberty. might, he fays, have been tolerable had it only attacked bad citizens, and feditious orators, who endea-

annos domi et belli præfuiffet, viotius quem non vexavit? Efto, po- lari verfibus, et eos agi in fcena, pulares homines, improbos, in remp. non plus decuit, quam si Plautus Hyperbolum læsit: patiamur— noster voluisset, aut Nævius P. et

Cn. Scipioni, aut Cæcilius M. CaSed Periclem, cum jam suæ civi- toni maledicere. Ex fragm. Cic. Sed Periclem, cum jam luse civi-tati maxima auctoritate plurimos de Rep. lib. 4-

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voured to raise commotions in the state, such as Cleon, Cleophon, and Hyperbolus: but when a Pericles, who for many years had governed the commonwealth both in war and peace with equal wisdom and authority, (he might have added, and a Socrates declared by Apollo the wisest of mankind,) is brought upon the stage to be laughed at by the public, it is as if our Plautus or Nævius had fallen upon the Scipios,

or Cæcilius reviled Marcus Cato in his writings.

That liberty is still more offensive to us, who are born in, and live under, a monarchical government, which is far from being favourable to licence. without intending to justify the conduct of Aristophanes, which, to judge properly of it, is inexcufable, I think it would be necessary to lay aside the prejudices of nature, nations, and times, and to imagine we live in those remote ages in a state purely democratical. We must not fancy Aristophanes to have been a person of little consequence in his republic, as the comic writers generally are in our days. The king of Persia had a very different idea of him. (c) It is a known story, that in an audience of the Greek ambassadors, his first enquiry was after a certain comic poet, (meaning Aristophanes,) that put all Greece in motion, and gave fuch effectual counsels against him. Aristophanes did that upon the stage, which Demofthenes did afterwards in the public affemblies. poet's reproaches were no less animated than the orator's. His comedies spoke a language, that became the councils of the republic. It was addressed to the fame people, upon the same occasions of the state, the same means to success, and the same obstacles to their measures. In Athens the whole people were the fovereign, and each of them had an equal share in the supreme authority. Upon this they were continually intent, were fond of discoursing themselves, and of hearing the sentiments of others. The public affairs were the business of every individual; in

(c) Ariftoph, in Acharn.

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which they were desirous of being fully informed, that they might know how to conduct themselves on every occasion of war or peace, which frequently offered, and to distinguish upon their own, as well as upon the destiny of their allies, or enemies. Hence rose the liberty, taken by the comic poets, of introducing the affairs of the state into their performances. The people were so far from being offended at it, or at the manner in which those writers treated the principal persons of the state, that they conceived their liberty in some measure to consist in it.

liberty in some measure to consist in it.

Three * persons particularly excelled in the antient comedy; Eupolis, Cratinus, and Aristophanes. The last is the only one of them, whose pieces have come entire down to us, and, out of the great number of those, eleven are all that remain. He flourished in an age when Greece abounded with great men, and was cotemporary with Socrates and Euripides, whom he survived. During the Peloponnesian war he made his greatest figure; less as a writer to amuse the people with his comedies, than as a censor of the government, retained to reform the state, and to be almost the arbiter of his country.

He is admired for an elegance, poignancy, and happiness of expression, or in a word, that Attic salt and spirit, to which the Roman language could never at-

Eupolis, atque Cratinus, Aristophanesque poetæ,
Atque alii, quorum comedia prisca virorum est,
Si quis erat dignus describi, quòd malus, aut sur,
Quòd mœchus soret, aut sicarius, aut alioqui
Famosus; multa cum libertate notabant. Hor. Sat. 4. l. s.
With Aristophanes' satyric rage,
When antient comedy amus'd the age,
Or Eupolis's, or Cratinus' wit;
And others that all-licens'd poem writ;
None, worthy to be shewn, escap'd the scene,
No public knawe, or thief of losty mein;
The loose adult'rer was drawn forth to sight;
The secret murth'rer trembling lurk'd the night;
Vice play'd itself, and each ambitious spark;
All holdly branded with the poet's mark.

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tain, and for * which Aristophanes is more remarkable than any other of the Greek authors. His particular excellence was raillery. None ever touched the ridicule in characters with fuch fuccess, or knew better how to convey it in all its force to others. But it were necessary to have lived in his times for a right tafte of his works, The fubtle falt and spirit of the antient raillery, according to Mr. Brumoi, is evaporated through length of time, and what remains of it is become flat and infipid to us; though the sharpest part will retain its vigour throughout all ages.

Two confiderable defects are juftly imputed to this poet, which very much obscure, if not entirely efface, his glory. These are low buffoonery, and gross obscenity; which objections have been opposed to no purpose from the character of his audience; the bulk of which generally confifted of the poor, the ignorant, and dregs of the people, whom however it was as necessary to please as the learned and the rich. The depravity of the inferior people's tafte, which once banished Cratinus and his company, because his scenes were not grossly comic enough for them, is no excuse for Aristophanes, as Menander could find out the art of changing that groveling taste, by introducing a species of comedy, not altogether so modest as Plutarch feems to infinuate, yet much chafter than any before his time.

The gross obscenities, with which all Aristophanes's comedies abound, have no excuse; They only denote an excessive libertinism in the spectators, and depravity in the poet. The utmost falt, that could have been bestowed upon them, which however is not the case, would not have atoned for laughing himself, or for making others laugh at the expence of decency and good manners +. And in this case it may well be faid, that it were better to have no wit at all than to

Antiqua comædia finceram ilsola retinet. Quintil.

[†] Nimium risûs pretium eft, fi lam sermonis Attici gratiam prope probitatis impendio constat. Quintil. lib. 6. c. 3.

make so ill an use of it *. Mr. Brumoi is very much to be commended for his having taken care, in giving a general idea of Aristophanes's writings, to throw a veil over those parts of them, that might have given offence to modesty. Though such behaviour be the indispensable rule of religion, it is not always observed by those who pique themselves most on their erudition, and sometimes prefer the title of scholar to that of christian.

The antient comedy subsisted till Lysander's time, who, upon having made himself master of Athens, changed the form of the government, and put it into the hands of thirty of the principal citizens. The fatyrical liberty of the theatre was offensive to them, and therefore they thought fit to put a stop to it, The reason of this alteration is evident, and makes good the reflection made before upon the privilege of the poets, to criticize with impunity upon the persons at the head of the state. The whole authority of Athens was then vested in tyrants. The democracy was abolished. The people had no longer any share in the government. They were no more the prince; their sovereignty had expired. The right of giving their opinions and fuffrages upon affairs of state was at an end, nor dared they, either in their own persons or by the poets, prefume to censure the fentiments and conduct of their masters. The calling persons by their names upon the stage was prohibited: but the poetical spirit soon found the secret to elude the intention of the law, and to make itself amends for the restraint it suffered in the necessity of using seigned names. It then applied to the discovery of the ridicule in known characters, which it copied to the life, and from thence acquired the double advantage of gratifying the vanity of the poets, and the malice of the audience in a more refined manner. The one had the delicate pleasure of putting the spectators upon

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^{*} Non pejus duxerim tardi ingenii esse quam mali. Quintil. lib. 1.

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gueffing their meaning, and the other, of not being mistaken in their suppositions, and of affixing the right name to the characters represented. Such was the comedy, since called the *Middle Comedy*, of which there are some instances in Aristophanes.

It continued till the time of Alexander the Great, who, having entirely affured himself of the empire of Greece by the deseat of the Thebans, occasioned the putting a check upon the licence of the poets, which increased daily. From thence the New Comedy took its birth, which was only an imitation of private life, and brought nothing upon the stage with seigned names, and supposititious adventures.

(d) Chacun peint avec art dans ce nouveau miroir S'y vit avec plaisir, ou crut ne s'y pas voir.
L'avare des premiers rit du tableau fidele
D'un avare souvent tracé sur son modele;
Et mille sois un fat, finement exprimé,
Meconnut le portrait sur lui-meme formé.

In this new glass, whilst each himself survey'd, He sat with pleasure, the himself was play'd: The miser grinn'd whilst avarice was drawn, Nor thought the faithful likeness was his own; His own dear self no imag'd fool could find, But saw a thousand other sops design'd.

This may properly be called fine comedy, and is that of Menander. Of one hundred and eighty, or rather eighty, according to Suidas, composed by him, all of which Terence is said to have translated, there remains only a sew fragments. The merit of the originals may be judged from the excellence of their copy. Quintilian, in speaking of Menander, is not asraid to say, that with the beauty of his works, and the height of his reputation, he obscured, or rather obliterated, the same of all the writers in the same way. He observes in another passage, that his own

⁽d) Boileau Art, Poet. Cant. 3.

times were not so * just to his merit as they ought to have been, which has been the sate of many others; but that he was sufficiently made amends by the savourable opinion of posterity. And indeed Philemon, a comic poet of the same age, though prior to him, was preserved before him.

SECT. IV. The theatre of the antients described.

I have already observed, that Æschylus was the first founder of a fixed and durable theatre adorned with suitable decorations. It was at first, as well as the amphitheatres, composed of wooden planks; but those breaking down by having too great a weight upon them, the Athenians, excessively enamoured of dramatic representations, were induced by that accident to erect those superb structures, which were imitated afterwards with so much splendor by the Roman magnificence. What I shall say of them, has almost as much relation to the Roman, as the Athenian theatres; and is extracted entirely from Mr. Boindin's learned differtation upon the theatre of the antients (e), who has treated the subject in all its extent.

The theatre of the antients was divided into three principal parts; each of which had its peculiar appellation. The division for the actors was called in general the scene, or stage; that for the spectators was particularly termed the theatre, which must have been of vast extent (f), as at Athens it was capable of containing above thirty thousand persons; and the Orchestra, which amongst the Greeks was the place assigned for the pantomimes and dancers, though at Rome it was appropriated to the senators and Vestal

virgins.

The theatre was of a femicircular form on one fide, and square on the other. The space contained with-

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⁽e) Memoirs of the Acad. of Inscript. &c. Vol. I. p. 136, &c. (f) Strab. l. 9. p. 393. Herod. l. 8. c. 65.

^{*} Quidam, sicut Menander, zetatis, judicia sunt consecuti. justiora posterorum, quam suze Quintil. lib. 3. c. 6.

in the femicircle, was allotted to the spectators, and had feats placed one above another to the top of the building. The square part, in the front of it, was the actor's division; and in the interval, between both, was the Orchestra.

The great theatres had three rows of portico's. raifed one upon another, which formed the body of the edifice, and at the same time three different stories for the feats. From the highest of those portico's the women faw the representation, covered from the weather. The rest of the theatre was uncovered, and all the business of the stage was performed in the open

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Each of these stories consisted of nine rows of seats. including the landing place, which divided them from each other, and ferved as a passage from side to side. But as this landing-place and passage took up the space of two benches, there were only feven to fit upon, and consequently in each story there were seven rows of feats. They were from fifteen to eighteen inches in height, and twice as much in breadth; fo that the spectators had room to sit with their legs extended, and without being incommoded by those of the people above them; no foot-boards being provided for them.

Each of these stories of benches were divided in two different manners; in their height, by the landing-places, called by the Romans Pracinationes, and in their circumferences by feveral stair-cases, peculiar to each story, which interfecting them in right lines, tending towards the center of the theatre, gave the form of wedges to the quantity of feats between them.

from whence they were called Cunei.

Behind these stories of seats were covered galleries, through which the people thronged into the theatre by great square openings, contrived for that purpose in the walls next the feats. Those openings were called Vomitoria, from the multitude of the people crowding through them into their places.

As

As the actors could not be heard to the extremity of the theatre, the Greeks contrived a means to supply that defect, and to augment the force of the voice, and make it more distinct and articulate. For that purpose, they invented a kind of large vessels of copper, which were disposed under the seats of the theatre in such a manner, as made all sounds strike upon the ear with more force and distinction.

The Orchestra being situated, as I have observed, between the two other parts of the theatre, of which one was circular, and the other square, it participated of the form of each, and occupied the space between

both. It was divided into three parts.

The first and most considerable was more particularly called the Orchestra, from a Greek word (g) that fignifies to dance. It was appropriated to the pantomimes and dancers, and to all such subaltern actors, as played between the acts, and at the end of the representations.

The fecond was named Dupian, from its being fquare in the form of an altar. Here the chorus was

generally placed.

And in the third, the Greeks generally bestowed their symphony, or band of musick. They called it wood from its being situate at the bottom of the principal part of the theatre, which they stiled the scenes.

I shall describe here this third part of the theatre, called the scenes; which was also subdivided into three

different parts.

The first and most considerable was properly called the scenes, and gave name to this whole division. It occupied the whole front of the building from side to side, and was the place allotted for the decorations. This front had two small wings at its extremity, from which hung a large curtain, that was let down to open the scene, and drawn up between the acts,

(g) 'Opzeidus.

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The second, called by the Greeks indifferently recorder, and roysion, and by the Romans Profeenium, and Pulpitum, was a large open space in front of the fcene, in which the actors performed their parts, and which, by the help of the decorations, represented either the public place or forum, a common street, or the country; but the place fo represented was always in the open air. of the consultai has

The third division was a part reserved behind the scenes, and called by the Greeks παρασχήνων. Here the actors dreft themselves, and the decorations were locked up. In the fame place were also kept the machines, of which the antients had abundance in their

theatres.

As only the portico's, and the building of the scene were roofed, it was necessary to draw fails, fastened with cords to masts, over the rest of the theatre, to screen the audience from the heat of the sun. But as this contrivance did not prevent the heat, occasioned by the perspiration and breath of so numerous an affembly, the antients took care to allay it by a kind of rain; conveying the water for that use above the portico's, which falling again in form of dew through an infinity of small pores, concealed in the statues, with which the theatre abounded, did not only diffuse a grateful coolness all around, but the most fragrant exhalations along with it; for this dew was always perfumed. Whenever the representations were interrupted by storms, the spectators retired into the portico's behind the feats of the theatre.

The passion of the Athenians for representations of this kind is not conceivable. Their eyes, their ears, their imagination, their understanding, all shared in the satisfaction. Nothing gave them so sensible a pleasure in dramatic performances, either tragic or comic, as the strokes which were aimed at the affairs of the public; whether pure chance occasioned the

application.

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application, or the address of the poets, who knew how to reconcile the most remote subjects with the transactions of the republic. They entered by that means into the interests of the people, took occasion to footh their passions, authorize their pretensions, justify and fometimes condemn their conduct, entertain them with agreeable hopes, instruct them in their duty in certain nice conjunctures; in effect of which they often not only acquired the applauses of the spectators, but credit and influence in the public affairs and counsels: Hence the theatre became so grateful and so much the concern of the people. It was in this manner, according to some authors, that Euripides artfully reconciled his tragedy of * Palamedes with the fentence paffed against Socrates, and explained by an illustrious example of antiquity the innocence of a philosopher, oppressed by a vile malignity supported against him by power and faction.

Accident was often the occasion of sudden and unforeseen applications, which from their appositeness were very agreeable to the people. Upon this verse

of Æschylus in praise of Amphiaraus,

Not to appear but be the great and good.

the whole audience rose up, and unanimously applied it to Aristides (h). The same thing happened to Philopoemen at the Nemæan games. At the instant he entered the theatre, these verses were singing upon the stage,

Our liberty, the noblest good below.

all the Greeks cast their eyes upon Philopæmen (i), and with clapping of hands and acclamations of joy expressed their veneration for the hero.

(6) Plut. in Aristid. p. 320. (i) Plut. in Philopæm. p. 362.

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(k) Cic. Epis. 19.

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^{*} It is not certain whether this piece was prior or posserior to the death of Socrates.

(k) In the same manner at Rome, during the banishment of Cicero, when some verses of † Accius, which reproached the Greeks with their ingratitude in suffering the banishment of Telamon, were repeated by Æsop, the best actor of his time, they drew tears from the eyes of the whole assembly.

Upon another, though very different, occasion, the Roman people applied to Pompey the Great some

verses to this effect,

(1) 'Tis our unhappiness has made thee great. and then addressing to the people,

The time shall come when you shall late deplore So great a power confided to such hands.

The spectators obliged the actor to repeat these verses several times.

SECT. V. Passion for the representations of the theatre, one of the principal causes of the degeneracy and corruption of the Athenian state.

WHEN we compare the happy times of Greece, in which Europe and Asia resounded with nothing but the same of the Athenian victories, with the later ages when the power of Philip and Alexander the Great had in a manner subjected it, we shall be surprized at the strange alteration in the affairs of that republic. But what is most material, is the knowledge of the causes and progress of this declension; and these Mr. de Tourreil has discussed in an admirable manner in the presace to his translation of Demosthenes's orations.

There was no longer at Athens any traces of that manly and vigorous policy, equally capable of planning good, and retrieving bad, success. Instead of that, there remained only an inconsistent lostiness,

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⁽k) Cic. in Orat. pro Sext. n. 120, 123. (l) Cic. ad Attic. l. 2. Epif. 19. Val. Max. l. 6. c. 2.

[†] O ingratifici Argivi, inanes Graii, immemores beneficii, Exulare fivistis, sivistis pelli, pulsum patimini.

Vol. V. F art

apt to evaporate in pompous decrees. They were no more those Athenians, who when menaced by a deluge of Barbarians, demolished their houses to build ships with the timber, and whose women stoned the abject wretch to death, that proposed to appease the grand monarch by tribute or homage. The love of ease and pleasure had almost entirely extinguished that

of glory, liberty, and independance.

Pericles, that great man, so absolute, that those, who envied him, treated him as a second Pisistratus, was the first author of this degeneracy and corruption. With the design of conciliating the favour of the people, he ordained that upon such days as games or secrifices were celebrated, a certain number of obolishould be distributed amongst them; and that in the assemblies, in which affairs of state were to be transacted, every individual should receive a certain pecuniary gratification in right of presence. Thus the members of the republic were seen for the first time to sell their care in the administration of the government, and to rank amongst service employments the most noble functions of the sovereign power.

It was not difficult to foresee where so excessive an abuse would end; and to remedy it, it was proposed to establish a fund for the support of a war, and to make it capital to advise upon any account whatsoever, the application of it to other uses. But notwithstanding the abuse always subsisted. At first it seemed tolerable, whilft the citizen who was supported at the public expence, endeavoured to deferve its liberality by doing his duty in the field for nine months together. Every one was to ferve in his turn, and whoever failed was treated as a deferter without distinction: But at length the number of the transgressors carried it against the law; and impunity, as it commonly happens, multiplied their number. People accustomed to the delightful abode of a city, where feafts and games ran in a perpetual circle, conceived an invincible

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It was therefore necessary to find amusement for this indolent people, to fill up the great void of an unactive useless life. Hence arose principally their paffion, or rather frenzy for public shews. The death of Epaminondas, which feemed to promife them the greatest advantages, gave the final stroke to their ruin and destruction. "Their courage," fays Tustin (n), 66 did not survive that illustrious Theban. " Free from a rival, who kept their e nulation alive, 46 they funk into lethargic floth and effeminacy. The " funds for armaments by land and fea were foon lawished upon games and feasts. The feaman's and " foldier's pay was distributed to the idle citizen ener-" vated in fost luxurious habits of life. The repre-" fentations of the theatre were preferred to the ex-" ercifes of the camp. Valour and military know-" ledge were entirely difregarded. Great captains " were in no estimation; whilst good poets and ex-" cellent comedians engroffed the universal applause."

Extravagance of this kind makes it easy to comprehend in what multitudes the people thronged to the dramatic performances. As no expence was spared in embellishing them, exorbitant sums were sunk in the fervice of the theatre. If, fays Plutarch (o), what each representation of the dramatic pieces cost the Athenians were rightly calculated, it would appear, that their expences in playing the Bacchanalians, the Phœnicians, Œdipus, Antigone, Medea and Electra, (tragedies written either by Sophocles or Euripides) were greater, than those which had been employed against the Barbarians in the defence of the liberty, and for the prefervation, of Greece. (p) This gave a Spartan just reason to cry out, on seeing an estimate of the enormous fums laid out in the disputes of the tragic poets; and the extraordinary pains taken by the

(P) Id. Sympof. 1. 7. Queft. 7. p. 710.

⁽n) Justin. 1. 6. c. 9. (o) Plut. de glo. Athen. p. 394.

magistrates who presided in them, that a people must be void of fense to apply themselves in so warm and ferious a manner to things fo frivolous. "For," added he, " games should be only games; and nothing " is more unreasonable than to purchase a short and trivial amusement at so great a price. Pleasures of this kind agree only with public rejoicings, and " feafons of festivity, and were designed to divert

" people at their leifure hours; but should by no means interfere with the affairs of the public, nor

the necessary expences of the government."

After all, fays Plutarch, in a paffage which I have already cited, of what utility have these tragedies been to Athens, though so much boasted by the people, and admired by the rest of the world? We find, that the prudence of Themistocles enclosed the city with frong walls; that the fine tafte and magnificence of Pericles improved and adorned it; that the noble fortitude of Miltiades preserved its liberty; and that the moderate conduct of Cimon acquired it the empire and government of all Greece. If the wife and learned poetry of Euripides, the fublime diction of Sophocles, the lofty bulkin of Æschylus, have obtained equal advantages for the city of Athens, by delivering it from impending calamities, or by adding to its glory, I consent, (in Plutarch's words,) that dramatic pieces should be ranked with trophies of victory, the poetic fcenes with the fields of battle, and the compositions of the poets with the great exploits of the generals. But what a comparison would this be: on the one fide would be seen a few writers, crowned with wreaths of ivy, and dragging a goat or an ox after them, the rewards and victims affigned them for excelling in tragic poetry: on the other, a train of illustrious captains, surrounded with colonies founded, cities taken, and nations subjected by their wisdom and valour. It is not to perpetuate the victories of Æschylus and Sophocles, but in remembrance of the glorious battles of Marathon, Salamin, Eurymedon, and many others, magi (brates

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The conclusion of Plutarch from hence, in which we ought to agree with him, is, that it was the highest imprudence in the * Athenians, to prefer pleasure to duty, the passion for the theatre to the love of their country, trivial representations to the application to public bufiness; and to consume in useless expences and dramatic entertainments the funds intended for the support of fleets and armies. Macedon, till then obscure and inconsiderable, well knew how to take advantage of the + Athenian indolence and effeminacy; and Philip, instructed by the Greeks themselves, amongst whom he had for several years applied himfelf successfully to the art of war, was not long before he gave Greece a master, and subjected it to the yoke, as we shall see in the sequel.

Appapraveouv. Almaios μεγάλα, την σπεδην είς την RAIDAN KATANALITHONTES, TETÉτι μεγάλων άπος όλων δαπάνας n sparduates spodia nata-KOPMY EVTES E'S TO DEATPOV.

† Quibus rebus effectum eft, at inter otia Græcorum, fordidum

et obscurum antea Macedonum nomen emergeret; et Philippus, obses triennio Thebis habitus, Epaminondæ et Pelopidæ virtutibus eruditus, regnum Macedoniæ Græciæ et Asiæ cervicibus, velut jugum servitutis, imponeret. Juf-Mn. 1. 6. c. g.

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HISTORY

OF

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TYRANTS of SYRACUSE.

SYRACUSE had regained its liberty about fixty years, by the expulsion of the family of Gelon. The events which passed in that interval, except the invasion of the Athenians, are of no great importance, and little known; but those which follow, are of a different nature, and make amends for the chasm; I mean the reigns of Dionysius the sather and son, tyrants of Syracuse; the first of whom governed thirty eight, and the * other twelve, in all fifty years. As this history is entirely foreign to what passed in Greece at the same time, I shall relate it in this place all together and by itself; observing only, that the first twenty years of it, upon which I am

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^{*} After baving been expelled cended the throne, and reigned two for more than ten years, be re-af- or three years.

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last twenty of the preceding volume.

This history will present to our view a series of the most odious and horrid crimes, though it abounds at the fame time with instruction. When * on the one fide we behold a prince, the declared enemy of liberty, justice and laws, treading under his feet the most facred rights of nature and religion, inflicting the most cruel torments upon his subjects, beheading some, burning others for a flight word, delighting and feafting himself with human blood, and gratifying his favage inhumanity with the sufferings and miseries of every age and condition: I fay, when we behold fuch an object, can we deny a truth, which the pagan world itself hath confessed, and Plutarch takes occafion to observe in speaking of the tyrants of Sicily; that God in his anger gives fuch princes to a people, and makes use of the impious and the wicked to punish the guilty and the criminal. On the other side, when the same prince, the dread and terror of Syracuse, is perpetually anxious and trembling for his own life, and, abandoned to remorfe and regret, can find no person in his whole state, not even his wives or children, in whom he can confide; who will not think with Tacitus, + That it is not without reason the oracle of wisdom has declared, that if the hearts of tyrants could be seen, we should find them torn in pieces with a thousand evils; it being certain, that the body does not suffer more from inflictions and torments, than the minds of such wretches from their

* Erit Dionysius illic tyrannus, libertatis, justitiæ, legum exitium—Alios uret, alios verberabit, alios ob levem offensam jubebit detruncari. Senec. de consol. ad Marc. c. 17.

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† Neque frustra præstantissimus sapientiæ sirmare solitus est, si recludantur tyrannorum mentes, posse aspici laniatus et ictus; quando, ut corpora verberibus, ita sævitia, libidine, malis consultis animus dilaceraretur. Tacit. Annal. 1. 6. c. 6.

crimes, cruelties, and the injustice and violence of their

proceedings.

The condition of a good prince is quite different, He loves his people, and is beloved by them, he enjoys a perfect tranquillity within himself, and lives with his subjects as a father with his children. Though he knows that the fword of justice is in his hands, he apprehends the use of it. He loves to turn aside its edge, and can never refolve to evidence his power, but with extreme reluctance, in the last extremity, and with all the forms and fanction of the * laws. A tyrant punishes only from caprice and passion; and believes, fays Plutarch upon Dionysius, that he is not really + mafter, and does not act with fupreme authority, but as he fets himfelf above all laws, has no other, but his will and pleasure, and fees himself obeyed implicitely. Whereas, continues the same author, he that can do whatever he will, is in great danger of doing what he ought not.

Besides these characteristics of cruelty and tyranny, which particularly distinguish the first Dionysius, we shall see in his history, whatever unbounded ambition, sustained by great valour, extensive abilities, and the necessary talents for acquiring the confidence of a people, is capable of undertaking for the attainment of sovereignty; the various means he had the address to employ for the maintaining himself in it against the opposition of his enemies, and the odium of the public; and lastly, the tyrant's success in escaping, during a reign of thirty eight years, the many conspiracies formed against him, and in transmitting peacea-

* Hæc est in maxima potestate verissima animi temperantia, non cupiditate aliqua, non temeritate incendi; non priorum principum exemplis corruptum, quantum in cives suos liceat, experiendo tentare; sed hebetare aciem imperii sui—Quid interest inter tyrannum et regem, (species enim ipsa fortuna ac licentia par est,) nisi quod

tyranni in voluptate sæviunt, reges non niss ex causa et necessitate? Senec. de clem. lib. c. 11.

† ΈΦη ἀπολαύειν μάλις α της ἀρχης όταν ταχέως ὰ βέλεται ποιή μέγας ἐν ὁ κίνδυν ⑤ βέλεοθαι ὰ μη δεῖ, τὸν ὰ βέλεται ποιεῖν δυνάμθρον. Ad Princ. indoct. p. 782. bly t

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THIS chapter contains the history of Dionysius the elder, who reigned thirty eight years.

SECT. I. Means made use of by Dionysius the elder to possess himself of the tyranny.

(a) DIONYSIUS was a native of Syracuse, of noble and illustrious extraction according to fome, but others fay his birth was base and obscure. However it was, he diffinguished himself by his valour, and acquired great reputation in a war with the Carthaginians. He was one of those, who accompanied Hermocrates, when he attempted to re-enter Syracuse by force of arms, after having been banished through the intrigues of his enemies. The event of that enterprize was not happy. Hermocrates was killed. The Syracufans did not spare his accomplices; several of whom were publicly executed. Dionysius was left amongst the wounded. The report of his death, defignedly given out by his relations, faved his Providence had spared Syracuse an infinity of misfortunes, had he expired either upon the spot, or by the executioner.

The Carthaginians had made several attempts to establish themselves in Sicily, and to posses themselves of the principal towns of that island, as we have observed elsewhere (b). Its happy situation for their maritime commerce, the fertility of its soil, and the riches of its inhabitants, were powerful inducements to such an enterprize. We may form an idea of the wealth of its cities, from Diodorus Siculus's account of Agrigentum (c). The temples were of extraordinary magnificence, especially that of Jupiter Olympius, which

⁽a) Diod. l. 13. p. 197. (b) In the bistory of the Carthaginians, Vol. I. (c) Diod. l. 13. p. 203, 206.

was three hundred and forty feet in length, fixty in breadth, and one hundred and twenty in height. The piazzas or galleries in their extent and beauty answered to the rest of the building. On one side was represented the battle of the giants, on the other the taking of Troy, in figures as large as the life. Without the city was an artificial lake, which was feven stadia (above a quarter of a league) in circumference. It was full of all kinds of fish, covered with fwans and other water fowls, and afforded the most agreea-

ble prospect imaginable.

It was about the time of which we speak, that Exenetus, victor in the Olympic games, entered the city in triumph in a magnificent chariot, attended by three hundred more, all drawn by white horses. Their habits were adorned with gold and filver; and nothing was ever more splendid than their appearance. Gellias, the most wealthy of the citizens of Agrigentum, erected several large apartments in his house for the reception and entertainment of his guests. Servants waited by his order at the gates of the city, to invite all strangers to lodge at their master's house, whither they conducted them. Hospitality was much practifed and esteemed by the generality of that city. A violent storm having obliged five hundred horse-men to take shelter there, Gellias entertained them all in his house, and supplied them immediately with dry cloaths, of which he had always a great quantity in his wardrobe. This is understanding how to make a noble use of riches. His cellar is much talked of by historians, in which he had three hundred refervoirs hewn out of the rock, each of which contained an hundred * amphoræ.

This great and opulent city was belieged, and at length taken by the Carthaginians. It's fall shook all Sicily, and spread an universal terror. The cause

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of its being loft was imputed to the Syracufans, who had but weakly aided it. Dionysius, who from that time had no other thoughts, but of his grand defigns. and was fecretly active in laying the foundations of his future power, took the advantage of this favourable opportunity, and of the general complaints of Sicily against the Syracusans, to render the magistrates odious, and to exclaim against their administration. In a public affembly, held to confider of the present state of affairs, when no body dared to open their mouths for fear of the persons at the helm, Dionysius rose up, and boldly accused the magistrates of treason; adding, that it was his opinion, that they ought to be deposed immediately, without waiting till the term of their administration should expire. They retorted this audacity with treating him as a feditious person, and a diffurber of the public tranquillity, and as fuch, laid a fine upon him according to the laws. This was to be paid, before he could be admitted to speak again, and Dionysius was not in a condition to discharge it. Philistus, one of the richest citizens (who wrote the history of Sicily, which is not come down to us) deposited the money, and exhorted him at the sametime to give his opinion upon the state of affairs with all the liberty, which became a citizen zealous for his country.

Dionyfius accordingly refumed his discourse with more vigour than before. He had long cultivated the habit of eloquence, which he looked upon with reason as a very necessary talent in a republican government; especially in his views of acquiring the people's favour, and of conciliating them to his measures. He began with describing in a lively and pathetic manner the ruin of Agrigentum, a neighbouring city in their alliance; the deplorable extremity, to which the inhabitants had been reduced, of quitting the place under the cover of the night; the cries and lamentations of infants, and of aged and sick persons, whom they had been obliged to abandon to a cruel and mer-

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less enemy; and the consequential murder of all who had been left in the city, whom the barbarous victor dragged from the temples and altars of the gods, feeble refuges against the Carthaginian fury and impiety. He imputed all these evils to the treachery of the commanders of the army, who instead of marching to the relief of Agrigentum, had retreated with their troops; to the criminal protraction and delay of the magistrates, corrupted by Carthaginian bribes; and to the pride of the great and rich, who regarded nothing but establishing their own power upon the ruins of their country's liberty. He represented Syracuse as composed of two different bodies; the one, by their power and influence, usurping all the dignities and wealth of the state; the other, obscure, despised and trod under foot, bearing the fad yoke of a shameful fervitude, and rather flaves than citizens. He concluded with faying, that the only remedy for fo many evils was to elect perfons from amongst the people devoted to their interests, and who not being capable of rendering themselves formidable by their riches and authority, would be folely employed for the public good, and apply in earnest to the re-establishment of the liberty of Syracuse.

This discourse was listened to with infinite pleasure, as all speeches are, which flatter the natural propensity of inseriors to complain of the government, and was followed with the universal applause of the people, who always give themselves up blindly to those, who know how to deceive them under the specious pretext of serving their interest. All the magistrates were deposed upon the spot, and others substituted in their

room, with Dionysius at the head of them.

This was only the first step to the tyranny, at which he did not stop. The success of his undertaking inspired him with new courage and confidence. He had also in view the displacing of the generals of the army, and to have their power transferred to himself. The design was bold and dangerous, and he ap-

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plied to it with address. Before he attacked them openly, he planted his batteries against them at a diflance; calumniating them by his emissaries to the people, and sparing no pains to render them suspected. He caused it to be whispered amongst the populace, that those commanders held fecret intelligence with the enemy; that disguised couriers were frequently feen paffing and repaffing; and that it was not to be doubted, but some conspiracy was on foot. He affected on his fide not to fee those leaders, nor to open himself to them at all upon the affairs of the public. He communicated none of his defigns to them; as if he was apprehensive of rendering himself suspected by having any intercourse or correspondence with them. Persons of sense and discernment were not at a loss to discover the tendency of these undermining arts; nor were they filent upon the occasion: But the common people, prejudiced in his favour, inceffantly applauded and admired his zeal, and looked upon him as the fole protector and afferter of their rights and liberties.

Another scheme, which he set at work with his usual address, was of very great service to him, and exceedingly promoted his defigns. There was a great number of banished persons dispersed throughout Sicily, whom the faction of the nobility of Syracuse had expelled the city at different times, and upon different pretences. He knew what an addition of strength so numerous a body of citizens would be to him, whom gratitude to a benefactor, and refentment against those who had occasioned their banishment, the hope of retrieving their affairs, and of enriching themselves out of the spoils of his enemies, rendered most proper for the execution of his designs, and attached unalterably to his person and interest. He applied therefore earnestly to obtain their recal. It was given out, that it was necessary to raise a numerous body of troops to oppose the progress of the Carthaginians, and the people were in great pain upon the expence,

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expence, to which the new levies would amount. Diony fius took the advantage of this favourable coniuncture, and the disposition of the public. He represented, that it was ridiculous to bring foreign troops at a great expence from Italy and Peloponnesus, whilft they might supply themselves with excellent soldiers, without being at any charge at all: that there were numbers of Syracufans in every part of Sicily, who, notwithstanding the ill treatment they had received, had always retained the hearts of citizens under the name and condition of exiles; that they preserved a tender affection and inviolable fidelity for their country, and had chose rather to wander about Sicily without support or settlement, than to take party in the armies of the enemy, however advantagious the offers to induce them to it had been. This discourse of Dionysius had all the effect upon the people he could have wished. His collegues, who perceived plainly what he had in view, were afraid to contradict him; rightly judging, that their opposition would not only prove ineffectual, but incense the people against them, and even augment the reputation of Dionyfius, to whom it would leave the honour of recalling the exiles. Their return was therefore decreed, and they accordingly came all to Syracuse without lofing time. all lo more sale

A deputation from Gela, a city in the dependance of Syracuse, arrived about the same time, to demand that the garrison should be re-inforced. Dionysius immediately marched thither with two thousand soot, and sour hundred horse. He sound the city in a great commotion, and divided into two sactions; one of the people, and the other of the rich and powerful. The latter having been tried in form, were condemned by the assembly to die, and to have their estates consistent for the use of the public. This consistent tion was applied to pay off the arrears, which had long been due to the former garrison, commanded by Dexippus the Lacedæmonian; and Dionysius promi-

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fed the troops he brought with him to Syracuse to double the pay they were to receive from the city. This was attaching so many new creatures to himself. The inhabitants of Gela treated him with the highest marks of honour, and sent deputies to Syracuse, to return their thanks for the important service that city had done them in sending Dionysius thither. Having endeavoured in vain to bring Dexippus into his measures, he returned with his troops to Syracuse, after having promised the inhabitants of Gela, who used all means in their power to keep him amongst them, that he would soon return with more considerable aid.

He arrived at Syracuse just as the people were coming out of the theatre, who ran in throngs about him, enquiring with earnestness what he had heard of the Carthaginians. He answered with a sad and dejected air, that the city nourished far more dangerous and formidable enemies in her bosom; that whilft Carthage was making extraordinary preparations for the invasion of Syracuse, those, who were in command. instead of rouzing the zeal and attention of the citizens, and fetting every thing at work against the approach of fo potent an enemy, lulled them with trivial amusements and idle shews; and suffered the troops to want necessaries; converting their pay to their private uses in a fraudulent manner destructive to the public affairs; that he had always sufficiently comprehended the cause of such a conduct; that however it was not now upon mere conjecture, but upon too evident proof, his complaints were founded; that Imilcar, the general of the Carthaginians, had fent an officer to him, under pretext of treating about the ransom of prisoners, but in reality to prevail on him not to be too first in examining into the conduct of his collegues; and that if he would not enter into the measures of Carthage, at least that he would not oppose them; that for his part he came to refign his command, and to abdicate his dignity, that he might leave

leave no room for injurious fuspicions of his acting in concert, and holding intelligence, with traytors who fold the commonwealth.

This discourse being rumoured amongst the troops, and about the city, occasioned great inquietude and alarm. The next day the affembly was fummoned, and Dionysius renewed his complaints against the generals, which were received with universal applause, Some of the affembly cried out, that it was necessary to appoint him generalissimo, with unlimited power, and that it would be too late for so falutary a recourse, when the enemy was at the gates of Syracuse; that the importance of the war which threatened them, required fuch a leader; that it was in the same manner formerly, that Gelon was elected generalissimo, and defeated the Carthaginian army at Himera, which confifted of three hundred thousand men; that as for the accusation, alledged against the traytors, it might be referred to another day, but that the present affair would admit no delay. Nor was it deferred in effect; for the people, (who, when once prejudiced, run headlong after their opinion without examining any thing) elected Dionysius generalissimo with unlimited power that instant. In the same assembly he caused it to be decreed, that the foldiers pay should be doubled; infinuating that the state would be amply reimburfed by the conquests consequential of that advance, This being done, and the affembly dismissed, the Syracusans, upon cool reflection on what had passed, began to be in some consternation; as if it had not been the effect of their own choice; and comprehended, though too late, that from the defire of preferving their liberty, they had given themselves a master.

Dionysius rightly judged the importance of taking his measures before the people repented what they had done. There remained but one step more to the tyranny, which was to have a body of guards affigned him; and that he accomplished in the most artful and politic manner. He proposed, that all the citizens

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under forty years of age, and capable of bearing arms, should march with provisions for thirty days to the city of Leontium. The Syracufans were at that time in possession of the place, and had a garrison in It was full of fugitive and foreign foldiers, who were very fit persons for the execution of his designs. He juftly suspected, that the greatest part of the Syracufans would not follow him. He fet out however. and encamped in the night upon the plains near the city. It was not long before a great noise was heard throughout the whole camp. This tumult was raifed by persons planted for that purpose by Dionysius. He affected, that ambuscades had been laid with design to affaffinate him, and in great trouble and alarm retired for refuge into the citadel of Leontium, where he passed the rest of the night, after having caused a great number of fires to be lighted, and had drawn off such of the troops as he most consided in. break of day the people affembled in a body, to whom, expressing still great apprehension, he explained the danger he had been in, and demanded permifsion to chuse himself a guard of six hundred men for the fecurity of his person. Pisistratus had set him the example long before, and had used the same stratagem when he made himfelf tyrant of Athens. His demand feemed very reasonable, and was accordingly complied with. He chose out a thousand men for his guard upon the fpot, armed them compleatly, equipped them magnificently, and made them great promifes for their encouragement. He also attached the foreign foldiers to his interest in a peculiar manner by speaking to them with great freedom and affability. He made many removals and alterations in the troops, to secure the officers in his interest, and dismissed Dexippus to Sparta, in whom he could not confide. At the same time he ordered a great part of the garrison, which he had fent to Gela, to join him, and affembled from all parts fugitives, exiles, debtors, and criminals; a train worthy of a tyrant. With

With this escort he returned to Syracuse, that trembled at his approach. The people were no longer in a condition to oppose his undertakings, or to dispute his authority. The city was full of foreign foldiers, and faw itself upon the point of being attacked by the Carthaginians. To strengthen himself the more in the tyranny, he espoused the daughter of Hermocrates, the most powerful citizen of Syracuse, and who had contributed the most to the defeat of the Athenians. He also gave his fifter in marriage to Polyxenus, brother-in-law of Hermocrates. He afterwards fummoned an affembly, in which he rid himself of Daphneus and Demarchus, who had been the most active in opposing his usurpation. In this manner Dionysius, from a simple notary and a citizen of the lowest class, made himself absolute lord and tyrant of the greatest and most opulent city of Sicily.

SECT. II. Commotions in Sicily and at Syracuse against Dionysius. He finds means to dispel them. To prevent revolts he proposes to attack the Carthaginians. His wonderful application and success in making preparations for the war. Plato comes to Syracuse, His intimacy and friendship with Dion.

DIONYSIUS had a rude shock to experience in the beginning of his usurpation. The Carthaginians having besieged Gela, he marched to its relief, and after some unsuccessful endeavours against the enemy, threw himself into the place. He behaved there with little vigour, and all the service he did the inhabitants was to make them abandon their city in the night, and to cover their slight in person. He was suspected of acting in concert with the enemy, and the more because they did not pursue him, and that he lost very sew of his foreign soldiers. All the inhabitants who remained at Gela were butchered. Those of Camarina, to avoid the same sate, sollowed their example, and withdrew with all the

(d) Diod. l. 13. p. 227, 231.

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effects they could carry away. The moving fight of aged persons, matrons, young virgins, and tender infants, hurried on beyond their strength, struck Dionyfius's troops with compaffion, and incenfed them against the tyrant. Those he had raised in Italy withdrew to their own country, and the Syracufan cavalry, after having made a vain attempt to kill him upon the march from his being furrounded with his foreigners, made forwards, and having entered Syracufe, went directly to his palace, which they plundered, using his wife at the same time with so much violence and ill usage, that she died of it soon after. Dionyfius, who had forefeen their defign, followed them close with only an hundred horse, and sour hundred foot; and having marched almost twenty leagues (c) with the utmost expedition, he arrived at midnight at one of the gates, which he found thut against him. He fet fire to it, and opened himself a passage in that manner. The richest of the citizens ran thither to dispute his entrance, but were surrounded by the foldiers, and almost all of them killed. Dionysius having entered the city, put all to the fword, that came in his way, plundered the houses of his enemies, of whom he killed a great number, and forced the reft to leave Syracuse. The next day in the morning the whole body of his troops arrived. The unhappy fugitives of Gela and Camarina, out of horror for the tyrant, retired to the Leontines. Imilcar having fent an herald to Syracuse, a treaty was concluded, as mentioned in the history of the Carthaginians (f). By one of the articles it was flipulated, that Syracufe should continue under the government of Dionysius; which confirmed all the fuspicions, that had been conceived of him. This happened in the year Darius Nothus died (g).

It was then he facrificed every thing that gave him umbrage to his repose and security. He knew, that

⁽e) 400 stadia. (f) Vol. I. (g) A. M. 3600. Ant. C. 404.

after having deprived the Syracusans of all that was dear to them, he could not fail of incurring their extreme abhorrence; and the sear of the miseries he had to expect in consequence, increased in the usurper in proportion to their hatred of him. He looked upon all his new subjects as so many enemies, and believed, that he could only avoid the dangers which surrounded him on all sides, and dogged him in all places, by cutting off one part of the people to intimidate the other. He did not observe, that in adding the cruelty of executions to the oppression of the public, he only multiplied his enemies, and induced them, after the loss of their liberty, to preserve at least their lives by attempting upon his.

(b) Dionysius, who foresaw that the Syracusans would not fail to take the advantage of the repose, in which the treaty lately concluded with the Carthaginians had left them, to attempt the re-establishment of their liberty, neglected nothing on his fide in support of his power. He fortified the part of the city called the Isle, which was before very strong from the nature of its fituation, and might be defended by a moderate garrison. He surrounded it with good walls, flanked at due distances with high towers, and separated in that manner from the rest of the city. To these works he added a strong citadel, to ferve him for a retreat and refuge in case of accident, and caused a great number of shops and piazza's to be erected, capable of containing a confiderable multitude of inhabitants.

As to the lands, he chose out the best of them, which he bestowed upon his creatures and the officers of his making, and distributed the rest in equal proportions amongst the citizens and strangers, including the slaves who had been made free amongst the first. He divided the houses in the same manner, reserving those in the Isle for such of the citizens as he could

most confide in, and for his strangers.

(b) Diod. p. 238, 241.

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After having taken these precautions for his security. he began to think of subjecting several free states of Sicily, which had aided the Carthaginians. He began with the fiege of Herbesses. The Syracusans in his army, feeing their fwords in their hands, thought it their duty to use them for the re-establishment of their liberty. At a time when they met in throngs to concert their measures, one of the officers, who took upon him to reprove them on that account, was killed upon the spot, and his death ferved as a fignal for their revolt. They fent immediately to Ætna for the horse, who had retired thither at the beginning of the revolution. Dionysius, alarmed at this motion, raised the siege, and marched directly to Syracuse, to keep it in obedience. The revolters followed him close, and having seized upon the suburb Epipolis, barred all communication with the country. They received aid from their allies both by fea and land, and fetting a price upon the tyrant's head, promifed the freedom of the city to fuch of the strangers as should abandon him. A great number came over to them; whom they treated with the utmost favour and humanity. They made their machines advance, and battered the walls of the Isle vigorously, without giving Dionysius the least respite.

The tyrant, finding himself reduced to extremities, abandoned by the greatest part of the strangers, and shut up on the side of the country, assembled his friends to consult with them rather by what kind of death he should put a glorious period to his carreer, than upon the means of saving himself. They endeavoured to inspire him with new courage, and were divided in their opinions; but at last the advice of Philistus prevailed, which was, that he should by no means renounce the tyranny. Dionysius, to gain time, sent deputies to the revolters, and demanded permission to quit the place with his adherents, which was granted, and five ships to transport his people and effects. He had however sent dispatches secretly to

the Campanians, who garrisoned the places in the posfession of the Carthaginians, with offers of considerable reward, if they would come to his relief.

The Syraculans, who, after the treaty, believed their business done, and the tyrant entirely defeated, had difarmed part of their troops, and the rest acted with great indolence and little discipline. The arrival of the Campanians to the number of twelve hundred horse, infinitely surprized and alarmed the city. After having beat fuch as disputed their passage, they opened themselves a way to Dionysius. At the same time, three hundred foldiers more arrived to his affistance: The face of things was then entirely altered, and terror and dejection changed parties. Dionyfius in a fally, drove them vigorously as far as that part of the city called Neapolis. The flaughter was not very confiderable, because he had given orders to spare those that fled. He caused the dead to be interred, and gave those who had retired to Ætna to understand, that they might return with entire security. Many came to Syracufe, but others did not think it adviseable to confide in the faith of a tyrant. The Campanians were rewarded to their fatisfaction, and difmiffed. The well and the life vigore of a (1) and

The Lacedæmonians at this time took such meafures in regard to Syracuse, as were most unworthy of the Spartan name. They had lately subverted the liberty of Athens, and declared publicly in all the cities of their dependance against popular government. They deputed one of their citizens to Syracuse, to express in appearance the part they took in the misfortunes of that city, and to offer it their aid; but in reality he was sent to confirm Dionysius in supporting himself in the tyranny; expecting that from the increase of his power he would prove of great advantage and support to their own.

Dionyfius faw, from what had so lately happened at Syracuse, what he was to expect from the people for

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for the future. Whilft the inhabitants were employed abroad in harvest work, he entered their houses, and feized upon all the arms he could find. He afterwards inclosed the citadel with an additional wall, fitted out abundance of ships, armed great numbers of frangers, and took all possible measures to secure himself against the disaffection of the Syracusans.

After having made this provision for his fafety at home, he prepared to extend his conquests abroad; from whence he did not only propose the increase of his dominions and revenues, but the additional advantage of diverting his fubjects from the fense of their loft liberty, by turning their attention upon their antient, and always abhorred, enemy, and by employing them in lofty projects, military expeditions and glorious exploits, to which the hopes of riches and plunder would be annexed. He conceived this to be also the means to acquire the affection of his troops; and that the efteem of the people would be a confequence of the grandeur and fuccess of his enterprizes.

Dionysius wanted neither courage nor policy, and had all the qualities of a great general. He took, either by force or fraud, Naxos, Catana, Leontium, and some (1) other towns in the neighbourhood of Syracuse, which for that reason were very agreeable to his purposes. Some of them he treated with favour and clemency, to engage the efteem and confidence of the people: Others he plundered, to strike terror into the country. The inhabitants of Leontium were

transplanted to Syracuse.

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These conquests alarmed the neighbouring cities. which faw themselves threatened with the same misfortune. Rhegium, situate upon the opposite coast of the strait which divides Sicily from Italy, prepared to prevent it, and entered into an alliance with the Syracufan exiles, who were very numerous, and with the Messenians on the Sicilian side of the strait, who were to aid them with a powerful supply. They had

⁽¹⁾ Ætna. Enna.

levied a considerable army, and were upon the point of marching against the tyrant, when discord arose amongst the troops, and rendered the enterprize abortive. It terminated in a treaty of peace and alliance

between Dionysius and the two cities.

He had long revolved a great defign in his mind, which was to ruin the Carthaginian power in Sicily, a great obstacle to his own, as his discontented subjects never failed of refuge in the towns dependent upon that nation. The accident of the plague, which had lately ravaged Carthage, and extremely diminished its strength, seemed to supply a favourable opportunity for the execution of his defign. But, as a man of ability, he knew that the greatness of the preparations ought to answer that of an enterprize, to assure the fuccess of it; and he applied to them in a manner, which shews the extent of his views, and extraordinary capacity. He therefore used uncommon pains and application for that purpole; conscious that the war, into which he was entering with one of the most powerful nations then in the world, might be of long duration, and have variety of confiderable events.

His first care was to bring to Syracuse, as well from the conquered cities in Sicily, as from Greece and Italy, a great number of artisans and workmen of all kinds; whom he induced to come thither by the offer of great gain and reward, the certain means of engaging the most excellent persons in every prosession. He caused an infinite number of every kind of arms to be forged, swords, javelins, lances, partisans, helmets, cuirasses, bucklers; all after the manner of the nation by whom they were to be worn. He built also a great number of galleys, that had from three to sive benches of rowers, and were of an entirely new invention; with abundance of other barks and vessels for the transportation of troops and provi-

fions.

The whole city feemed but one workshop, and continually resounded with the noise of the several artisans.

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tifans. Not only the porches, piazza's, portico's, places of exercise, and public places, but private houses of any extent were full of workmen. Dionyfius had distributed them with admirable order. Each species of artists, divided by streets and districts, had their overfeers and inspectors, who by their presence and direction promoted and compleated the works. Dionysius himself was perpetually amongst the workmen, encouraging them with praise, and rewarding their merit. He knew how to confer different marks of honour upon them, according to their distinguishing themselves by their ingenuity or application. He would even make some of them dine with him at his own table, where he entertained them with the freedom and kindness of a friend. * It is justly said, that honour nourishes arts and sciences, and that men of all ranks and conditions are animated by the love of glory. The prince, who knows how to put the two great springs and strongest incentives of the human foul, interest and glory, in motion under proper regulations, will foon make all arts and sciences flourish in his kingdom, and fill it at a small expence with persons who excel in every profession. And this happened now at Syracuse, where a single person of great ability in the art of governing excited fuch ardor and emulation amongst the artificers, as it is not easy to imagine or describe.

Dionyfius applied himself more particularly to the navy. He knew that Corinth had invented the art of building galleys with three and five benches of oars, and was ambitious of acquiring for Syracuse, a Corinthian colony, the glory of bringing that art to perfection; which he effected. The timber for building his galleys was brought, part of it from Italy, where it was drawn on carriages to the fea-fide, and from thence shipped to Syracuse, and part from mount Ætna, which at that time produced abundance

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^{*} Honos alit artes, omnesque incenduntur ad studia gloriæ. Cie. Tusc. Quast. l. 1. n. 4. of

of pine and fir trees. In a short space a sleet of two hundred gallies was seen in a manner to rise out of the earth; and an hundred others formerly built were resitted by his order. He caused also an hundred and sixty sheds to be erected within the great port, each of them capable of containing two gallies, and an

hundred and fifty more to be repaired.

The fight of fuch a fleet, built in fo short a time, and fitted out with fo much magnificence, would have given reason to believe, that all Sicily had united its labours and revenues in accomplishing fo great a work. On the other fide the view of fuch an incredible quantity of arms newly made, would have inclined one to think, that Dionysius had solely employed himself in providing them, and had exhausted his treasures in the expence. They confifted of one hundred and forty thousand shields, as many helmets and swords; and upwards of fourteen thousand cuiraffes, finished with all the art and elegance imaginable. They were intended for the horse, for the tribunes and centurions of the foot, and for the foreign troops, who had the guard of his person. Darts, arrows, and lances, were innumerable, and engines and machines of war in proportion to the rest of the preparations.

The fleet was to be manned by an equal number of citizens and strangers. Dionysius did not think of raising troops till all his preparations were compleat. Syracuse and the cities in its dependance supplied him with part of his forces. Many came from Greece, especially from Sparta. The considerable pay he offered brought soldiers in crowds from all parts to list

in his fervice.

He omitted none of the precautions necessary to the success of his enterprize; the importance as well as difficulty of which was well known to him. He was not ignorant that every thing depends upon the zeal and affection of the troops for their general, and applied himself particularly to the gaining of the hearts, not of his own subjects only, but of all the

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the nts inhabitants of Sicily, and succeeded in it to a wonder. He had entirely changed his behaviour for some time. Kindness, courtesy, clemency, a disposition to do good, and an infinuating complacency for all the world, had taken place of that haughty and imperious air, and inhumanity of temper, which had rendered him so odious. He was so entirely altered that he did not seem to be the same man.

Whilst he was hastening his preparations for the war, and applying to the attainment of his subjects affections, he meditated an alliance with the two powerful cities, Rhegium and Messina, which were capable of disconcerting his great designs by a formidable diversion. The league formed by those cities some time before, though without any effect, gave him some uneasiness. He therefore thought it necessary to make fure of the amity of them both. He presented the inhabitants of Messina with a considerable quantity of land, which was fituate in their neighbourhood, and lay very commodiously for them. To give the people of Rhegium an instance of his esteem and regard for them, he fent ambaffadors to defire that they would give him one of their citizens in marriage. He had loft his first wife in the popular commotion, as before related.

Dionysius, sensible that nothing establishes a throne more effectually than the prospect of a successor, who may enter into the same designs, have the same interests, pursue the same plan, and observe the same maxims of government, took the opportunity of the present tranquillity of his affairs to contract a double marriage, in order to have a successor, to whom he might transfer the sovereignty, which had cost him

fo many pains and dangers to acquire.

The people of Rhegium, to whom Dionysius had first applied, having called a council to take his demand into consideration, came to a resolution not to contract any alliance with a tyrant; and for their si-

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man's daughter to give him. The raillery was home and cut deep. We shall see in the sequel how dear

that city paid for their jest.

The Locrians, to whom Dionysius sent the same ambaffadors, did not shew themselves so difficult and delicate, but fent him Doris for a wife, who was the daughter of one of their most illustrious citizens. He caused her to be brought from Locris in a galley with five benches of rowers of extraordinary magnificence, and shining on all sides with gold and silver. He married at the same time Aristomache daughter of Hipparinus, the most considerable and powerful of the Syracusan citizens, and fifter of Dion, of whom much will be faid hereafter. She was brought to his palace in a chariot drawn by four white horses, which was then a fingular mark of distinction. The nuptials of both were celebrated the fame day with universal reioicings throughout the whole city, and was attended with feasts and presents of incredible magnificence.

It was contrary to the manners and universal custom of the western nations from all antiquity that he espoused two wives at once; taking in this, as in every thing else, the liberty assumed by tyrants of

fetting themselves above all laws.

Dionysius seemed to have an equal affection for the two wives, without giving the preserence to either, to remove all cause of jealousy and discord. The people of Syracuse reported that he preserred his own country-woman to the stranger; but the latter had the good fortune to bring her husband the first son, which supported him not a little against the cabals and intrigues of the Syracusans. Aristomache was a long time without any symptoms of child-bearing; though Dionysius desired so earnestly to have issue by her, that he put his Locrian's mother to death; accusing her of hindering Aristomache from conceiving by witchcraft.

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Aristomache's brother was the celebrated Dion, in great estimation with Dionysius. He was at first obliged for his credit to his sister's favour; but after distinguishing his great capacity in many instances, his own merit made him much beloved and regarded by the tyrant. Amongst the other marks Dionysius gave him of his considence, he ordered his treasurers to supply him without farther orders with whatever money he should demand, provided they informed him

the fame day they paid it.

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Dion had naturally a great and most noble foul. An happy accident had conduced to inspire and confirm in him the most elevated fentiments. It was a kind of chance, or rather, as Plutarch fays, a peculiar providence, which at distance laid the foundations of the Syracufan liberty, that brought Plato, the most relebrated of philosophers, to Syracuse. Dion became his friend and disciple, and made great improvements from his lessons: For though brought up in a luxurious and voluptuous court, where the fupreme good was made to confift in pleafure and magnificence, he had no fooner heard the precepts of his new master, and imbibed a taste of the philosophy that inculcates virtue, than his foul was enflamed with the love of Plato in one of his letters gives this glorious teflimony of him; that he had never met with a young man, upon whom his discourses made so great impression, or who had conceived his principles with so much ardor and vivacity.

As Dion was young and unexperienced, observing the facility with which Plato had changed his taste and inclinations, he imagined, with simplicity enough, that the same reasons would have the same effects upon the mind of Dionysius; and from that opinion could not rest till he had prevailed upon the tyrant to hear, and converse with him. Dionysius consented: But the lust of tyrannic power had taken too deep a root in his heart to be ever eradicated from it. It

was * like an indelible dye, that had penetrated his inmost foul, from whence it was impossible ever to efface it.

(k) Though the flay of Plato at the court made no alteration in Dionysius, he persevered in giving Dion the fame instances of his esteem and confidence, and even to support, without taking offence, the freedom with which he spoke to him. Dionysius, ridiculing one day the government of Gelon, formerly king of Syracuse, and saying, in allusion to his name, that he had been the laughing-stock (1) of Sicily, the whole court fell into great admiration, and took no small pains in praifing the quaintness and delicacy of the eonceit, infipid and flat as it was, and indeed as puns and quibbles generally are. Dion took it in a ferious fense, and was so bold to represent to him, that he was in the wrong to talk in that manner of a prince, whose wise and equitable conduct had been an excellent model of government, and given the Syracufans a favourable opinion of monarchical power. You reign, added he, and have been trusted for Gelon's sake; but for your fake, no man will ever be trusted after you. was very much, that a tyrant should suffer himself to be talked to in fuch a manner with impunity.

SECT. III. Dionysius declares war against the Carthaginians. Various success of it. Syracuse reduced to extremities, and soon after delivered. New commotions against Dionysius. Defeat of Imilcar, and afterwards of Mago. Unhappy fate of the city of Rhegium.

DIONYSIUS feeing his great preparations were compleat, and that he was in a condition to take the field, publicly opened his design to the Syracusans, in order to interest them the more in the success of

(k) Plut. p. 960. (1) Tiaws signifies laughing-stock.

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the enterprize, and told them that it was against the Carthaginians. He represented that people as the perpetual and inveterate enemy of the Greeks, and especially of those who inhabited Sicily; that the plague, which had lately wasted Carthage, had made the opportunity favourable, which ought not to be neglected; that the people in subjection to so cruel a power, waited only the fignal to declare against it; that it would be much for the glory of Syracuse to reinstate the Grecian cities in their liberty, after having fo long groaned under the yoke of the Barbarians; that in declaring war at present against the Carthaginians, they only preceded them in doing fo for fome time; fince as foon as they had retrieved their losses, they would not fail to attack Syracuse with all their forces.

The affembly were unanimously of the same opi-Their antient and natural hatred of the Barbarians; their anger against them for having given Syracuse a master; and the hope that with arms in their hands they might find some occasion of recovering their liberty, united them in their suffrages. war was refolved without any opposition, and began that very instant. There were, as well in the city as the port, a great number of Carthaginians, who, upon the faith of treaties and under the peace, exercifed traffic, and thought themselves in security. populace, by Dionysius's authority, upon the breaking up of the affembly, ran to their houses and ships, plundered their goods, and carried off their effects. They met with the same treatment throughout Sicily; to which murders and massacres were added, by way of reprifal for the many cruelties committed by the Barbarians upon those they conquered, and to shew them what they had to expect, if they continued to make war with the fame inhumanity.

After this bloody execution, Dionysius sent a letter by an herald to Carthage, in which he signified, that the Syracusans declared war against the Carthaginians,

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Grecian cities held by them in Sicily. The reading of this letter at first in the senate, and afterwards in the affembly of the people, occasioned an uncommon alarm, as the pestilence had reduced the city to a deplorable condition. However they were not dismayed, and prepared for a vigorous desence. They raised troops with the utmost diligence, and Imilcar set out immediately to put himself at the head of the

Carthaginian army in Sicily.

Dionyfius on his fide lost no time, and took the field with his army, which daily increased by the arrival of new troops, who came to join him from all parts. It amounted to fourscore thousand foot, and three thousand horse. The fleet consisted of two hundred galleys, and five hundred barks laden with provisions, and machines of war. He opened the campaign with the siege of Motya, a fortisted town under the Carthaginians near mount Eryx, in a little island something more than a quarter of a league (m) from the continent, to which it was joined by a small neck of land, which the besieged immediately cut off, to prevent the approaches of the enemy on that side.

Dionyfius having left the care of the fiege to Leptinus, who commanded the fleet, went with his land-forces to attack the places in alliance with the Carthaginians. Terrified by the approach of fo numerous an army, they all furrendered except five, which were Ancyra, Solos, (n) Palermo, Segesta, and En-

tella. The last two places he besieged.

Imilcar however, to make a diversion, detached ten galleys of his fleet, with orders to attack and surprize in the night all the vessels, which remained in the port of Syracuse. The commander of this expedition entered the port according to his orders without resistance, and after having sunk a great part of the vessels, which he sound there, retired well satisfied with the success of his enterprize.

(m) Six Stadia or furlongs.

(n) Panormus.

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Dionysius, after having wasted the enemy's country, returned, and fat down with his whole army before Motya, and having employed a great number of hands in making dams and moles, he reinstated the neck of land, and brought his engines to work on that fide. The place was attacked and defended with the utmost vigour. After the besiegers had passed the breach, and entered the city, the besieged persisted a great while in defending themselves with incredible valour; fo that it was necessary to pursue and drive them from house to house. The soldiers, enraged at so obstinate a defence, put all before them to the fword; age, youth, women, children, nothing was fpared, except those who had taken refuge in the temples. The town was abandoned to the foldiers difcretion; Dionysius being pleased with an occasion of attaching the troops to his fervice by the allurement and hope of gain.

The Carthaginians made an extraordinary effort the next year, and raifed an army of three hundred thoufand foot, and four thousand horse. The fleet under Mago's command confifted of four hundred galleys, and upwards of fix hundred veffels laden with provifions and engines of war. Imilcar had given the captains of the fleet his orders fealed up, which were not to be opened till they were out at fea. He had taken this precaution, that his defigns might be kept fecret, and to prevent spies from fending advices of them to Sicily. The rendezvous was at Palermo; where the fleet arrived without much loss in their pasfage. Imilcar took Eryx by treachery, and foon after reduced Motya to furrender. Messina seemed to him a place of importance; because it might favour the landing of troops from Italy in Sicily, and bar the passage of those that should come from Peloponnesus. After a long and vigorous defence it fell into his hands, and some time after he entirely demolished it.

Dionysius, seeing his forces extremely inserior to

the enemy, retired to Syracuse. Almost all the people of Sicily, who hated him from the beginning, and were only reconciled to him in appearance and out of fear, took this occasion to quit his party, and to join the Carthaginians. The tyrant levied new troops, and gave the flaves their liberty, that they might ferve on board the fleet. His army amounted to thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, and his fleet to an hundred and eighty galleys. With these forces he took the field, and removed about eighteen leagues from Syracufe. Imilcar advanced perpetually with his land-army followed by his fleet, that kept near the coast. When he arrived at Naxos, he could not continue his march upon the fea-fide, and was obliged to take a long compass round mount Ætna, which by a new irruption had fet the country about it on fire, and covered it with ashes. He ordered his fleet to wait his coming up at Catana. Dionysius apprized of this, thought the opportunity favourable for attacking it, whilft feparate from the land-forces, and whilft his own, drawn up in battle upon the shore, might be of fervice to animate and support his fleet. The scheme was wifely concerted, but the success not answerable to it. Leptinus his admiral, having advanced inconfiderately with thirty galleys, contrary to the opinion of Dionysius, who had particularly recommended to him not to divide his forces, at first funk feveral of the enemy's ships, but upon being furrounded by the greater number was forced to fly. His whole fleet followed his example, and was warmly pursued by the Carthaginians. Mago detached boats full of foldiers, with orders to kill all that endeavoured to fave themselves by swimming to shore. The land army drawn up there, faw them perish miferably without being able to give them any affistance. The loss on the fide of the Sicilians was very great; more than an hundred gallies being either taken or funk, and twenty thousand men perishing either in the battle, or the pursuit.

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The Sicilians, who were afraid to shut themselves up in Syracuse, where they could not fail of being besieged very soon, sollicited Dionysius to lead them against Imilcar, whom so bold an enterprize might disconcert; besides which, they should find his troops satigued with their long and hasty march. The proposal pleased him at first; but upon reslecting, that Mago with the victorious sleet might notwithstanding advance and take Syracuse, he thought it more adviseable to return thither; which was the occasion of his losing abundance of his troops, who deserted in numbers on all sides. Imilcar, after a march of two days, arrived at Catana, where he halted some days to restresh his army, and resit his sleet, which had suffered

exceedingly by a violent storm.

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(o) He then marched to Syracuse, and made his fleet enter the port in triumph. More than two hundred gallies, adorned with the spoils of their victory, made a noble appearance as they advanced; the crews forming a kind of concert by the uniform and regular order they observed in the motion of their oars. They were followed by an infinite number of smaller barks; fo that the port, vast as it was, was searce capable of containing them; the whole fea being in a manner covered with fails. At the same time on the other fide appeared the land army, composed as has been said, of three hundred thousand foot and four thousand horse. Imilcar pitched his tent in the temple of Jupiter, and the army encamped around, at somewhat more than half a league's (p) distance from the city. It is easy to judge the consternation and alarm which such a prospect must give the Syracusans. The Carthaginian general advanced with his troops to the walls, to offer the city battle, and at the fame time feized upon the two remaining * ports by a detachment of an hundred gallies. As he faw no motion on the fide of the Syracufans, he retired, con-

⁽e) Diod. p. 285, 296. (p) 12 sadia.

* The little port and that of Trogilus.

tented for that time with the enemy's confessing their inequality. For thirty days together he laid waste the country, cutting down all the trees, and destroying all before him. He then made himself master of the fuburb called Achradina, and plundered the temples of Ceres and Proferpina. Forefeeing that the fiege would be of long duration, he entrenched his camp, and enclosed it with strong walls, after having demolished for that purpose all the tombs, and amongst others, that of Gelon and his wife Demarate, which was a monument of great magnificence. He built three forts at some distance from each other; the first at Pemmyra; the fecond towards the middle of the port; the third near the temple of Jupiter for the fecurity of his magazines of corn and wine. He fent also a great number of small vessels to Sardinia and Africa to fetch provisions.

At the fame time arrived Polyxenus, whom his brother-in-law Dionysius had dispatched before into Italy and Greece for all the aid he could obtain, and brought with him a fleet of thirty ships, commanded by Pharacides the Lacedæmonian. This re-inforcement came in very good time, and gave the Syracufans new spirit. Upon seeing a bark laden with provisions for the enemy, they detached five galleys and took it. The Carthaginians gave them chafe with forty fail, to which they advanced with their whole fleet, and in the battle carried the admiral galley, damaged many others, took twenty four, purfued the rest to the place where their whole fleet rode, and offered them battle a fecond time, which the Carthaginians, difcouraged by the check they had received, were afraid to accept.

The Syracufans, emboldened by so unexpected a victory, returned to the city with the galleys they had taken, and entered it in a kind of triumph. Animated by this success, which could be only ascribed to their valour; for Dionysius was then absent with a small detachment of the sect to procure provisions attended

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tended by Leptinus; they encouraged each other, and feeing they did not want arms, they reproached themfelves with cowardice, ardently exclaiming, that the time was come for throwing off the shameful yoke of

fervitude, and refuming their antient liberty.

Whilst they were in the midst of these discourses. dispersed in small parties, the tyrant arrived; and having fummoned an affembly, he congratulated the Syracufans upon their late victory, and promifed in a short time to put an end to the war, and deliver them from the enemy. He was going to dismiss the asfembly, when Theodorus one of the most illustrious of the citizens, a person of sense and valour, took upon him to speak, and to declare boldly for liberty. "We are told, faid he, of restoring peace, terminat-" ing the war, and of being delivered from the ene-" my. What fignifies fuch language from Dionyfius? " Can we have peace in the wretched flate of flavery " imposed upon us? Have we an enemy more to be " dreaded than the tyrant who subverts our liberty, " or a war more cruel than that he has made upon " us for fo many years? Let Imilcar conquer, fo he " contents himfelf with laying a tribute upon us, and " leaves us the exercise of our laws: The tyrant that " enslaves us, knows no other but his avarice, his " cruelty, his ambition! The temples of the gods " robbed by his facrilegious hands, our goods made a " prey, and our lands abandoned to his instruments, " our persons daily exposed to the most shame-" ful and cruel treatment, the blood of fo many ci-" tizens shed in the midst of us and before our eyes; " thefe are the fruits of his reign, and the peace he " obtains for us! Was it for the support of our liber-" ties he built you citadel, that he has enclosed it with " fuch strong walls and high towers, and has called " in for his guard that tribe of strangers and Barba-" rians, who infult us with impunity? How long, oh " Syracufans, shall we fuffer fuch indignities, more " insupportable to the brave and generous than death

"itself? Bold and intrepid abroad against the enemy, shall we always tremble like cowards in the pressence of a tyrant? Providence, which has again put arms into our hands, directs us in the use of them! Sparta, and the other cities in our alliance, who hold it their glory to be free and independant, would deem us unworthy of the Grecian name if we had any other sentiments. Let us shew that we do not degenerate from our ancestors. If Dionysius consents to retire from amongst us, let us open him our gates, and let him take along with him whatever he pleases: But if he persists in the tyranny, let him experience what effects the love of liberty has upon the brave and determinate!"

After this speech, all the Syracusans, in suspence betwixt hope and fear, looked earnestly upon their allies, and particularly upon the Spartans. Pharacides, who commanded their fleet, rose up to speak. It was expected that a citizen of Sparta would declare in favour of liberty: but he did quite the reverse, and told them, that his republic had fent him to the aid of the Syracusans and Dionysius, and not to make war upon Dionyfius, or to subvert his authority. This answer confounded the Syracufans, and the tyrant's guard arriving at the same time, the assembly broke up. Dionyfius perceiving more than ever what he had to fear, used all his endeavours to ingratiate himself with the people, and to attach the citizens to his interests; making presents to some, inviting others to eat with him, and affecting upon all occasions to treat them with kindness and familiarity.

(q) It must have been about this time, that Polyxenus, Dionysius's brother-in-law, who had married his sister Thesta, having without doubt declared against him in this conspiracy, sled from Sicily for the prefervation of his life, and to avoid falling into the tyrant's hands. Dionysius sent for his sister, and reproached her very much for not apprizing him of her

(9) Plut. in Dion. p. 966.

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husband's intended flight, as she could not be ignorant of it. She replied, without expressing the least furprize or fear, " Have I then appeared so bad a wife to "you, and of so mean a foul, as to have abandoned " my husband in his flight, and not to have defired " to share in his dangers and misfortunes? No! " I knew nothing of it; or I should have been much " happier in being called the wife of Polyxenus the " exile, in all places, than, in Syracuse, the sister of " the tyrant." Dionysius could not but admire an anfwer fo full of spirit and generofity; and the Syracusans in general were fo charmed with her virtue, that after the tyrrany was suppressed, the same honours, equipage and train of a queen, which she had before, were continued to her during her life; and after her death, the whole people attended her body to her tomb, and honoured her funeral with an extraordinary appearance.

On the fide of the Carthaginians, affairs began to take a new face on a sudden. They had committed an irretrievable error in not attacking Syracuse upon their arrival, and in not taking the advantage of the consternation, which the fight of a fleet and army equally formidable had occasioned. The plague, which was looked upon as a punishment sent from heaven for the plundering of temples and demolishing of tombs, had destroyed great numbers of their army in a short time. I have described the extraordinary symptoms of it in the hiftory of the Carthaginians (r). To add to that misfortune, the Syracufans, being informed of their unhappy condition, attacked them in the night by sea and land. The surprize, terror, and even haste they were in to put themselves into a posture of defence, threw them into new difficulty and confusion. They knew not on which fide to fend relief; all being equally in danger. Many of their veffels were funk, and others almost entirely disabled, and a much greater number destroyed by fire. The old men, women and children ran in crouds to the walls to be witnesses of that scene of horror, and listed up their hands towards heaven, returning thanks to the gods for so signal a protection of their city. The slaughter within and without the camp and on board the vessels was great and dreadful, and ended only with the day.

Imilcar, reduced to despair, offered Dionysius secretly three hundred thousand crowns (s) for permisfion to retire in the night with the remains of his army and fleet. The tyrant, who was not displeased with leaving the Carthaginians some resource, to keep his subjects in continual awe, gave his consent; but only for the citizens of Carthage. Upon which Imilcar fet out with the Carthaginians, and only forty thips; leaving the rest of his troops behind. The Corinthians, discovering from the noise and motion of the galleys, that Imilcar was making off, fent to inform Dionysius of his flight, who affected ignorance of it, and gave immediate orders to pursue him: but as those orders were but flowly executed, they followed the enemy themselves, and funk several vessels of their rear-guard.

Dionysius then marched out with his troops; but before their arrival, the Sicilians in the Carthaginian service had retired to their several countries. Having first posted troops in the passes, he advanced directly to the enemies camp, though it was not quite day. The Barbarians, who saw themselves cruelly abandoned and betrayed by Imilcar and the Sicilians, lost courage and sled. Some of them were taken by the troops in the passes; others laid down their arms and asked quarter. Only the Iberians drew up, and sent an herald to capitulate with Dionysius, who incorporated them into his guards. The rest were all made pri-

foners.

Such was the fate of the Carthaginians; which shews, fays the historian (t) that humiliation treads upon the heels of pride, and that those, who are too

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⁽s) 300 talents. (t) Diodorus Siculus.

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much puffed up with power and fuccefs, are foon forced to confess their weakness and vanity. haughty victors, mafters of almost all Sicily, who looked upon Syracuse as already their own, and entered at first triumphant into the great port, infulting the citizens, are now reduced to fly shamefully under the covert of the night; dragging away with them the fad ruins, and miserable remains of their fleet and army, and trembling for the fate of their native country. Imilcar, who had neither regarded the facred refuge of temples, nor the inviolable fanctity of tombs, after having left one hundred and fifty thousand men unburied in the enemies country, returns to perish miferably at Carthage, avenging upon himself by his death the contempt he had expressed for gods and men.

Dionysius, who was suspicious of the strangers in his fervice, removed ten thousand of them, and under the pretence of rewarding their merit, gave them the city of Leontium, which was in reality very commodiously situated, and an advantagious settlement. He confided the guard of his person to other foreigners, and the flaves he had made free. He made feveral attempts upon places in Sicily, and in the neighbouring country, especially against Rhegium (u). The people of Italy, feeing themselves in danger, entered into a powerful alliance to put a flop to his conquests. The fuccefs was tolerably equal on both fides.

(x) About this time, the Gauls, who fome months before had burnt Rome, fent deputies to Dionysius to make an alliance with him, who was at that time in Italy. The advices he had received of the great preparations making by the Carthaginians for war, obliged him to return to Sicily.

The Carthaginians, having fet on foot a numerous army under the conduct of Mago, made new efforts against Syracuse, but with no better success than the former. They terminated in an accommodation with Dionyfius.

⁽u) Diod. l. 14. p. 304, 310. (x) Justin. l. 20. c. 5.

(y) He attacked Rhegium again, and at first received no inconfiderable check. But having gained a great victory against the Greeks of Italy, in which he took more than ten thousand prisoners, he dismissed them all without ranfom contrary to their expectation; with a view of dividing the Italians from the interests of Rhegium, and of diffolving a powerful league, which might have defeated his defigns. Having by this action of favour and generofity acquired the good opinion of all the inhabitants of the country, and from enemies made them his friends and allies, he returned against Rhegium. He was extremely incensed against that city upon account of their refusing to give him one of their citizens in marriage, and the infolent answer, with which that refusal was attended. befieged, finding themselves incapable of refishing so numerous an army as that of Dionysius, and expecting no quarter if the city were taken by affault, began to talk of capitulating; to which he hearkened not unwillingly. He made them pay three hundred thousand crowns, deliver up all their vessels to the number of feventy, and put an hundred hostages into his hands: after which he raifed the fiege. It was not out of favour or clemency that he acted in this manner, but to make their destruction sure, after having first reduced their power.

Accordingly the next year, under the false pretext, and with the reproach of their having violated the treaty, he besieged them again with all his forces, first sending back their hostages. Both parties acted with the utmost vigour. The desire of revenge on one side, and the sear of the greatest cruelties on the other, animated the troops. Those of the city were commanded by Phyto, a brave and intrepid man, whom the danger of his country rendered more couragious. He made frequent and rude sallies. In one of them Dionysius received a wound, of which he recovered with great difficulty. The siege went on slowly, and

(y) A. M. 3615. Ant. J. C. 389.

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dering 1 next day extremi to the w tell him " The unfortur led thro and to f herald p " treate " ple o answered berty, 6 " ing 1 Such an eyes, ar was afra he had

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had already continued eleven months, when a cruel famine reduced the city to the last extremities. A meafure of wheat (of about fix bushels) was fold for two hundred and fifty livres (2). After having confumed all their horses and beasts of carriage, they were obliged to support themselves with leather and hides, which they boiled; and at last to feed upon the grass of the fields like beafts; a resource, of which Dionysius soon deprived them, by making his horse eat up all the herbage around the city. Necessity at length reduced them to furrender at discretion, and Dionysius entered the place, which he found covered with dead bodies. Those who survived were rather skeletons than men. He took above fix thousand prisoners, whom he fent to Syracuse. Such as could pay fifty livres (a) he dismissed, and fold the rest for slaves.

Dionyfius let fall the whole weight of his refentment and revenge upon Phyto. He began with ordering his fon to be thrown into the fea. next day he ordered the father to be fastened to the extremity of the highest of his engines for a spectacle to the whole army, and in that condition, he fent to tell him that his fon had been thrown into the fea. "Then he is happier than me by a day," replied that unfortunate parent. He afterwards caused him to be led through the whole city, to be scourged with rods, and to fuffer a thousand other indignities, whilst an herald proclaimed, "that the perfidious traytor was " treated in that manner, for having inspired the peo-" ple of Rhegium with rebellion." " Say rather," answered that generous defender of his country's liberty, " that a faithful citizen is fo used, for hav-"ing refused to facrifice his country to a tyrant." Such an object and fuch discourse drew tears from all eyes, and even from the foldiers of Dionysius. He was afraid his prisoner would be taken from him before he had fatiated his revenge, and ordered him to be flung into the fea directly.

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SECT. IV. Violent passion of Dionysius for poesy. Reflections upon that taste of the tyrant. Generous freedom of Philoxenus. Death of Dionysius. His bad qualities.

(b) A T an interval which the success against Rhegium had lest Dionysius, the tyrant, who was fond of all kinds of glory, and piqued himself upon the excellence of his genius, sent his brother Thearides to Olympia, to dispute in his name the prizes of the cha-

riot-race and poetry.

The circumstance, which I am going to treat, and which regards the taste or rather passion of Dionysius for poetry and polite learning, being one of his peculiar characteristics, and having besides a mixture of good and bad in itself, makes it requisite, for a right understanding of it, to distinguish, wherein this taste

of his is either laudable or worthy of blame.

I shall say as much upon the tyrant's total character, with whose vices of ambition and tyranny many great qualities were united, which ought not to be difguised or misrepresented; the veracity of history requiring, that justice should be done to the most wicked, as they are not so in every respect. We have feen feveral things in his character that certainly deferve praise; I mean in regard to his manners and behaviour: The mildness with which he suffered the freedom of young Dion, the admiration he expressed of the bold and generous answer of his fifter Thesta upon account of her husband's flight, his gracious and infinuating deportment upon feveral other occasions to the Syracufans, the familiarity of his discourse with the meanest citizens and even workmen, the equality he observed between his two wives, and his kindness and respect for them; all which imply that Dionysius had more of equity, moderation, affability, and generolity, than is commonly ascribed to him. He is not

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⁽c) Plu c, 85. Pl

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gula, Nero, or Caracalla.

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But to return to Dionysius's taste for poetry. In his intervals of leifure, he loved to unbend in the conversation of persons of wit, and in the study of arts and scien-He was particularly fond of versifying, and employed himself in the composition of poems, especially of tragedies. Thus far this paffion of his may be excused. having fomething undoubtedly laudable in it; I mean in the tafte for polite learning, the effeem he expressed for learned men, his inclination to do them good offices, and the application of his leifure hours. Was it not better to employ them in the exercise of his wit and the cultivation of science, than feasting, dancing, theatrical amusements, gaming, frivolous company, and other pleasures still more pernicious? Which wife reflection Dionysius the younger made when at Corinth. (c) Philip of Macedon, being at table with him. spoke of the odes and tragedies his father had left behind him with an air of raillery and contempt, and feemed to be under fome difficulty to comprehend at what time of his life he had leifure for fuch compofitions: Dionyfius smartly reparteed; The difficulty is very great indeed! Why he composed them at those hours, which you and I, and an infinity of others, as we have reason to believe, pass in drinking and other diversions.

(d) Julius Cæsar and the emperor Augustus applied themselves to poetry, and composed tragedies. Lucullus intended to have wrote the memoirs of his military actions in verse. The comedies of Terence were attributed to Lelius and Scipio, both great captains, especially the latter; and that report was so far from lessening their reputation at Rome, that it added to the

general esteem for them.

These unbendings therefore were not blameable in their own nature; this taste for poetry was rather laudable, if kept within due bounds; but Dionysius was

⁽c) Plut. in Timol. p. 243. c. 85. Plut. in Lucul. p. 492.

⁽d) Suet. in Cæf. c. 56. in August.

ridiculous for pretending to excel all others in it. He could not endure either a superior or competitor in any thing. From being in the fole possession of supreme authority, he had accustomed himself to imagine his wit of the same rank with his power: In a word, he was in every thing a tyrant. His immoderate effimation of his own merit flowed in some measure from the over-bearing turn of mind, which empire and command had given him. The continual applauses of a court, and the flatteries of those, who knew how to recommend themselves by his darling foible, were another fource of this vain conceit. And of what will not a * great man, a minister, a prince, think himfelf capable, who has fuch incense and adoration continually paid to him? It is well known, that Cardinal Richelieu in the midst of the greatest affairs, not only composed dramatic poems, but piqued himself on his excellency that way; and what is more, his jealoufy in that point rose so high as to use authority by way of criticism upon the compositions of those, to whom the public, a just and incorruptible judge in the question, had given the preference against him.

Dionysius did not reflect, that there are things, which though estimable in themselves, and which do honour to private persons, it does not become a prince to desire to excel in. I have mentioned elsewhere Philip of Macedon's expression to his son upon his having shewn too much skill in musick at a public entertainment: Are not you ashamed, said he, to sing so well. It was acting inconsistently with the dignity of his character. If Cæsar and Augustus, when they wrote tragedies, had taken it into their heads to equal or excel Sophocles, it had not only been ridiculous, but a represent to them. And the reason is, because a prince being obliged by an essential and indispensible duty to apply himself incessantly to the affairs of government, and having an infinitude of various business

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always recurring to him, he can make no other use of the sciences, than to divert him at such short intervals, as will not admit any great progress in them, and the excelling of those who employ themselves in no other study. Hence when the public sees a prince affect the first rank in this kind of merit, it may justly conclude, that he neglects his more important duties, and what he owes to his people's happiness, to give himself up to an employment, which wastes his time and application of mind inessectually.

We must however do Dionysius the justice to own, that he never was reproachable for letting poetry interfere to the prejudice of his great affairs, or that it made him less active and diligent on any important occasion.

(e) I have already faid, that this prince, in an interval of peace, had fent his brother Thearides to Olympia, to dispute the prizes of poetry and the chariotrace in his name. When he arrived in the affembly, the beauty as well as number of his chariots, and the magnificence of his pavilion, embroidered with gold and filver, attracted the eyes and admiration of all the spectators. The ear was no less charmed when the poems of Dionysius began to be read. He had chosen expressly for the occasion * readers with sonorous, mufical voices, who might be heard far and distinctly, and who knew how to give a just emphasis and numerofity to the verses they repeated. At first this had a very happy effect, and the whole audience were deceived by the art and sweetness of the pronunciation. But that charm was foon at an end, and the mind not long amused by the ears. The verses then appeared in all their ridicule. The audience were ashamed of having applauded them, and their praise was turned into laughter, fcorn and infult. press their contempt and indignation, they tore Dionyfius's rich pavilion in pieces. Lyfias, the celebrated

⁽e) Diod. l. 14. p. 318. * Thefe readers were called Paywobi.

orator, who was come to the Olympic games to difpute the prize of eloquence, which he had carried feveral times before, undertook to prove, that it was inconfistent with the honour of Greece, the friend and affertor of liberty, to admit an impious tyrant to share in the celebration of the facred games, who had no other thoughts than of subjecting all Greece to his power. Dionyfius was not affronted in that manner then; but the event proved as little in his favour. His chariots having entered the lifts, were all of them either carried out of the course by an headlong impetuolity, or dashed in pieces against one another. And to compleat the misfortune, the galley, which carried the persons Dionysius had sent to the games, met with a violent fform, and did not return to Syracuse without great difficulty. When the pilots arrived there, out of hatred and contempt for the tyrant, they reported throughout the city, that it was his vile poems, which had occasioned so many miscarriages to the readers, racers, and even the ship itself. This bad fuccess did not at all discourage Dionysius, nor make him abate any thing in his high opinion of his poetic vein. The flatterers, who abounded in his court, did not fail to infinuate, that fuch injurious treatment of his poems could proceed only from envy, which always fastens upon what is most excellent; and that fooner or later the invidious themselves would be convinced by demonstration, to do justice to his merit, and acknowledge his superiority to all other poets.

(f) The extravagance of Dionysius in that respect was inconceivable. He was undoubtedly a great warriour, and an excellent captain; but he fancied himself a much better poet, and believed that his verses were a far greater honour to him than all his victories. To attempt to undeceive him in an opinion so favourable to himself, had been an ill way of making court to him; so that all the learned men and poets, who eat

(f) Diod. 1. 15. p. 331.

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at his table in great numbers, feemed to be in extafy of admiration, whenever he read them his poems. Never, according to them, was there any comparifon: all was great, all noble in his poetry: all was majestic, or to speak more properly, all divine.

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Philoxenus was the only one of all the tribe, who did not run with the stream into excessive praises and flattery. He was a man of great reputation, and excelled in Dithyrambic poetry. There is a story told of him, which Fontaine has known how to apply admirably. Being at table with Dionysius, and seeing a very small fish fet before him, and an huge one before the king, the whim took him to lay his ear close to the little fish. He was asked his meaning by that pleasantry; "I was enquiring," said he, "into some " affairs that happened in the reign of Nereus, but " this young native of the floods can give me no in-" formation; yours is elder, and without doubt knows " fomething of the matter."

Dionyfius having read one day some of his verses to Philoxenus, and having prest him to give him his opinion of them, he answered with entire freedom, and told him plainly his real fentiments. Dionyfius. who was not accustomed to such language, was extremely offended, and ascribing his boldness to envy, gave orders to carry him to the mines; the common jail being fo called. The whole court were afflicted upon this account, and follicited for the generous prifoner, whose release they obtained. He was enlarged

the next day, and restored to favour.

At the entertainment made that day by Dionyfius for the same guests, which was a kind of ratification of the pardon, and at which they were for that reafon more than usually gay and chearful, after they had plentifully regaled a great while, the prince did not fail to introduce his poems into the conversation, which were the most frequent subject of it. chose some passages, which he had taken extraordinary pains in composing, and conceived to Le master-VOL. V. pieces;

pieces; as was very discernible from the self-satisfaction and complacency he expressed whilst they were reading. But his delight could not be perfect without Philoxenus's approbation, upon which he fet the greater value, as it was not his custom to be so profuse of it as the reft. What had passed the evening before was a sufficient lesson for the poet. When Dionysius asked his thoughts of the verses, Philoxenus made no answer, but turning towards the guards, who always flood round the table, he faid in a ferious, though humorous, tone without any emotion; Carry me back to the mines. * The prince took all the falt and spirit of that ingenious pleasantry, without being offend-The sprightliness of the conceit atoned for its freedom, which at another time would have touched him to the quick, and made him exceffively angry. He only laughed at it now, and did not make a quarrel of it with the poet.

He was not in the same temper upon a gross jest of Antiphon's, which was indeed of a different kind, and seemed to argue a violent and brutal disposition. The prince in conversation asked, which was the best kind of brass. After the company had given their opinions, Antiphon said, that was the best, of which the statues of † Harmodius and Aristogiton were made. This witty expression (g), if it may be called so, cost

him his life.

The friends of Philoxenus apprehending, that his too great liberty might be also attended with satal consequences, represented to him in the most serious manner, that those who live with princes must speak their language; that they hate to hear any thing not agreeable to themselves; that whoever does not know how to dissemble, is not qualified for a court; that the sa-

(g) Plut. Moral. p. 78, & 833.

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Τότε μεν Δά την εύτραπελίαν Τ λόγων μειδήσας ό Διονύσιος, ήνεγκε την παρρησίαν τε

[†] They had delivered Athens from the tyranny of the Pifistratides.

yours and liberalities, which Dionysius continually beflowed upon them, well deserved the return of complaifance; that, in a word, with his blunt freedom and plain truth, he was in danger of lofing not only his fortune but his life. Philoxenus told them, that he would take their good advice, and for the future give fuch a turn to his answers, as should fatisfy Dio-

nyfius without injuring truth.

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Accordingly some time after, Dionysius, having read a piece of his composing upon a very mournful subject, wherein he was to move compassion and draw tears from the eyes of the audience, addressed himself again to Philoxenus, and asked him his sentiments upon it. Philoxenus gave him for answer (b) one word, which in the Greek language has two different fignifications. In one of them it implies mournful, moving things, fuch as inspire sentiments of pity and compassion; in the other, it expresses something very mean, defective, pitiful or miserable. Dionyfius, who was fond of his verses, and believed that every body must have the same good opinion of them, took that word in the favourable construction, and was extremely fatisfied with Philoxenus. The rest of the company were not mistaken, but understood it in the right fense, though without explaining themselves.

Nothing could cure his folly for verification. It appears from Diodorus Siculus (i), that having fent his poems a fecond time to Olympia, they were treated with the same ridicule and contempt as before. That news, which could not be kept from him, threw him into an excess of melancholy, which he could never get over, and turned foon after into a kind of madness and phrenzy. He complained that envy and jealoufy, the certain enemies of true merit, were always at variance with him, and that all the world conspired to the ruin of his reputation. He accused his best friends of the same design; some of whom he put to death, and others he banished; amongst

(i) Diod. p. 332.

⁽b) Oixtpos.

whom were Leptinus his brother, and Philistus, who had done him such great services, and to whom he was obliged for his power. They retired to Thurium in Italy, from whence they were recalled some time after, and re-instated in all their fortunes and his favour: Leptinus in particular, who married Diony-

fius's daughter.

(k) To remove his melancholy for the ill success of his verses, it was necessary to find some employment, with which his wars and buildings supplied him. He had formed a defign of establishing powerful colonies in the part of Italy, fituate upon the Adriatic fea facing Epirus; in order that his fleet might not want a secure retreat, when he should employ his forces on that fide; and with this view he made an alliance with the Illyrians, and restored Alcetes king of the Molossians to his throne. His principal design was to attack Epirus, and to make himself master of the immense treasures, which had been for many ages amassing in the temple of Delphos. Before he could fet this project on foot, which required great preparations, he feemed to make an effay of his genius for it, by another of the same kind, though of much more easy execution. Having made a sudden irruption into Tufcany, under the pretence of pursuing pirates, he plundered a very rich temple in the suburbs of Agyllum, a city of that country, and carried away a fum exceeding four millions five hundred thoufand livres (1). He had occasion for money to support his great expences at Syracuse, as well in fortifying the port, and to make it capable of receiving two hundred gallies, as to enclose the whole city with good walls, erect magnificent temples, and build a place of exercise upon the banks of the river Anapus.

(m) At the same time he formed the design of driving the Carthaginians entirely out of Sicily. A first victory which he gained, put him almost into a con-

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(n) not le comfor caused for the was do nians. rature, so mean aversion from a fentenc games. with in vings w capable thing w joicing; most ex gree tha **fummit** gaiety a dignity guests t preffions an exce feized v stion, o

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⁽k Diod. l. 15. p. 336, 337. (! 1500 talents, or about 200000!.

Seerling. (m) See the history of the Carthaginians.

dition

dition to accomplish his project; but the loss of a second battle, in which his brother Leptinus was killed, put an end to his hopes, and obliged him to enter into a treaty, by which he gave up several towns to the Carthaginians, and paid them great sums of money to re-imburse their expences in the war. An attempt which he made upon them some years after, taking advantage of the desolation occasioned by the plague

at Carthage, had no better success.

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(n) Another victory of a very different kind, though not less at his heart, made him amends, or at least comforted him for the ill fuccess of his arms. He had caused a tragedy of his to be represented at Athens for the prize in the celebrated feast of Bacchus, and was declared victor. Such a victory with the Athenians, who were the best judges of this kind of literature, feems to argue the poetry of Dionysius not so mean and pitiful, and that it is very possible, the aversion of the Greeks for every thing, which came from a tyrant, had a great share in the contemptuous sentence, passed upon his poems in the Olympic games. However it was, Dionysius received the news with inexpressible transports of joy. Public thanksgivings were made to the gods, the temples being scarce capable of containing the concourse of the people. Nothing was feen throughout the city, but feaffing and rejoicing; and Dionysius regaled all his friends with the most extraordinary magnificence. Self-satisfied to a degree that cannot be described, he believed himself at the fummit of glory, and did the honours of his table with a gaiety and ease, and at the same time with a grace and dignity that charmed all the world. He invited his guests to eat and drink more by his example than expressions, and carried his civilities of that kind to such an excess, that at the close of the banquet he was feized with violent pains, occasioned by an indigestion, of which it was not difficult to foresee the consequences.

⁽n) Diod. p. 384, 385.

(0) Dionysius had three children by his wise Doris, and sour by Aristomache, of which two were daughters, the one named Sophrosyne, the other Arete. Sophrosyne was married to his eldest son, Dionysius the younger, whom he had by his Locrian wise, and Arete espoused her brother Theorides. But Theorides dying soon, Dion married his widow Arete, who was his own niece.

As Dionysius's distemper left no hopes of his life, Dion took upon him to discourse him upon his children by Aristomache, who were at the same time his brothers in-law and nephews, and to infinuate to him, that it was just to prefer the issue of his Syracusan wife to that of a stranger. But the physicians, desirous of making their court to young Dionysius, the Locrian's son, for whom the throne was intended, did not give him time to alter his purpose: For Dionysius having demanded a medicine to make him sleep, they gave him so strong a dose, as quite stupisfied his senses, and laid him in a sleep that lasted him for the rest of his life. He had reigned thirty eight

He was certainly a prince of very great political and military abilities, and had occasion for them all in raising himself as he did from a mean condition to fo high a rank. After having held the fovereignty thirty eight years, he transmitted it peaceably to a fuccessor of his own issue and election; and had established his power upon such folid foundations, that his fon, notwithstanding the slenderness of his capacity for governing, retained it twelve years after his All which could not have been effected without a great fund of merit as to his capacity. But what qualities could cover the vices, which rendered him the object of his subjects abhorrence? His ambition knew neither law nor limitation; his avarice spared nothing, not even the most facred places; his cruelty had often no regard to the affinity of blood; and

(o) Plut. in Dion. pag. 960.

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his open and professed impiety only acknowledged the

divinity to infult him.

In his return to Syracuse with a very favourable wind from plundering the temple of Proferpine at Locris, See, faid he to his friends with a fmile of contempt, how the immortal gods favour the navigation of

the facrilegious.

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(p) Having occasion for money to carry on the war against the Carthaginians, he risled the temple of Jupiter, and took from that god a robe of folid gold, which ornament Hiero the tyrant had given him out of the spoils of the Carthaginians. He even jested upon that occasion, faying, that a robe of gold was much too heavy in fummer, and too cold in winter; and at the fame time ordered one of wool to be thrown over the god's shoulders; adding, that such an habit would be commodious in all feafons.

Another time he ordered the golden beard of Æsculapius of Epidaurus to be taken off; giving for his reason, that it was very inconsistent for the son to

have a beard *, when the father had none.

He caused all the tables of filver to be taken out of the temples, and as there was generally inscribed upon them according to the custom of the Greeks, TO THE GOOD GODS; he would, (he faid,) take the benefit

of their GOODNESS.

As for lefs prizes, fuch as cups and crowns of gold, which the statues held in their hands, those he carried off without any ceremony; faying, it was not taking, but receiving, them; and that it was idle and ridiculous to ask the gods perpetually for good things, and to refuse them, when they held out their hands them-These spoils were carfelves to prefent them to you. ried by his order to the market, and fold at the public fale: and when he had got the money for them, he ordered proclamation to be made, that whoever had in their custody any things taken out of facred

⁽p) Cic. de nat. deor. 1. 15. n. 83, 84.

^{*} Apollo's statues bad no beards.

places, should restore them entire within a limited time to the temples from whence they were brought; adding in this manner to his impiety to the gods, in-

justice to man.

The amazing precautions, that Dionysius thought necessary to the security of his life, shew to what anxiety and apprehension he was abandoned. (q) He wore under his robe a cuirass of brass. He never harangued the people but from the top of an high tower; and thought proper to make himself invulnerable by being inaccessible. Not daring to confide in any of Lis friends or relations, his guard was composed of flaves and strangers. He went abroad as little as posfible; fear obliging him to condemn himself to a kind of imprisonment. These extraordinary precautions regard without doubt certain intervals of his reign, when frequent conspiracies against him rendered him more timid and suspicious than usual; for at other times we have feen that he converfed freely enough with the people, and was accessible even to familiarity. In those darks days of distrust and fear, he fancied, that he faw all mankind in arms against him. (r) A word which escaped his barber, who boasted by way of jest, that he held a razor at the tyrant's throat every week, cost him his life. From thenceforth, not to abandon his head and life to the hands of a barber, he made his daughters, though very young, do him that despicable office; and when they were more advanced in years, he took the sciffars and razors from them, and taught them to finge off his beard with nut-shells. (s) He was at last reduced to do himself that office, not daring it seems to trust his own daughters any longer. He never went into the chamber of his wives at night, till they had been first searched with the utmost care and circumspection. His bed was furrounded with a very broad and deep trench, with a small drawbridge over it for the en-

(5) Offic. l. 2. B. 55.

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⁽⁹⁾ Cic. Tufc. quæft. l. 5. n. 57, 63. (r) Plut. de Garrul. p. 508.

agreed (t) P Max. I.

trance. After having well locked and bolted the doors of his apartment, he drew up the bridge, that he might fleep in fecurity. (t) Neither his brother, nor even his fon could be admitted into his chamber without first changing their cloaths, and being vifited by the guards. Is passing one's days in such a continual circle of dis-

trust and terror, to live, to reign!

In the midst of all his greatness, possessed of riches, and furrounded with pleasures of every kind, during a reign of almost forty years, notwithstanding all his prefents and profusions, he never was capable of making a fingle friend. He passed his life with none but trembling flaves and fordid flatterers, and never tafted the joy of loving, or of being beloved, nor the charms of focial truth and reciprocal confidence. owned himself upon an occasion not unworthy of re-

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(u) Damon and Pythias had both been educated in the principles of the Pythagorean philosophy, and were united to each other in the strictest ties of friendship, which they had mutually fworn to observe with inviolable fidelity. Their faith was put to a severe trial. One of them being condemned to die by the tyrant, petitioned for permission to make a journey into his own country, to fettle his affairs, promising to return at a fixed time, the other generously offering to be his fecurity. The courtiers, and Dionysius in particular, expected with impatience the event of fo delicate and extraordinary an adventure. The day fixed for his return drawing nigh, and he not appearing, every body began to blame the rash and imprudent zeal of his friend who had bound himself in such a manner. But he, far from expressing any fear or concern, replied with tranquillity in his looks, and confidence in his expressions, that he was assured his friend would return; as he accordingly did upon the day and hour agreed. The tyrant flruck with admiration at fo un-

⁽u) Cic. de Offic. l. 3. n. 43. Val. (t) Plut. in Dion. p. 961. Max. l. 4. c. 7.

common an instance of fidelity, and softened with the view of so amiable an union, granted him his life, and desired to be admitted as a third person into their

friendship.

(x) He expressed with equal ingenuity on another occasion what he thought of his condition. One of his courtiers, named Damocles, was perpetually extolling with rapture his treasures, grandeur, the number of his troops, the extent of his dominions, the magnificence of his palaces, and the universal abundance of all good things and enjoyments in his possession; always repeating that never man was happier than Dionyfius. " Because you are of that opinion, said the " tyrant to him one day, will you tafte, and make or proof of my felicity in person?" The offer was accepted with joy. Damocles was placed upon a golden bed, covered with carpets of inestimable value. The fide-boards were loaded with veffels of gold and filver. The most beautiful flaves in the most splendid habits flood around, watching the least fignal to serve him. The most exquisite essences and persumes had not been foared. The table was spread with proportionate magnificence. Damocles was all joy, and looked upon himself as the happiest man in the world; when unfortunately casting up his eyes, he beheld over his head the point of a fword, which hung from the roof only by a fingle horse-hair. He was immediately seized with a cold sweat; every thing disappeared in an instant; he could fee nothing but the fword, nor think of any thing but his danger. In the height of his fear he defired permission to retire, and declared he would be happy no longer. A very natural image of the life of a tyrant. Ours reigned, as I have observed before, thirty eight years.

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⁽x) Cic. Tufc. quæft. l. 5. n. 61, 62.

CHAP. II.

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THIS chapter includes the history of Dionysius the younger, tyrant of Syracuse, son of the former; and that of Dion his near relation.

SECT. I. Dionysius the younger succeeds his father. Dion engages him to invite Plato to his court. Surprizing alteration occasioned by his presence. Conspiracy of the courtiers to prevent the effects of it.

(y) DIONYSIUS the elder was succeeded by one of his sons of his own name, commonly called Dionysius the younger. After his sather's suneral had been solemnized with the utmost magnificence, he assembled the people, and desired they would have the same good inclinations for him as they had professed for his sather. They were very different from each other in their character. (z) For the latter was as peaceable and calm in his disposition as the former was active and enterprizing; which would have been no disadvantage to his people, had that mildness and moderation been the effect of a wise and judicious understanding, and not of natural sloth and indolence of temper.

It was furprizing to see Dionysius the younger take quiet possession of the tyranny after the death of his father, as of a right of inheritance, notwithstanding the passion of the Syracusans for liberty, which could not but revive upon so favourable an occasion, and the weakness of a young prince undistinguished by his merit, and void of experience. It seemed as if the last years of the elder Dionysius, who had applied himself towards the close of his life in making his subjects taste the advantages of his government, had in some measure reconciled them to the tyranny; especially after his exploits by sea and land had acquired him a great reputation, and infinitely exalted the glory of the

⁽y) A. M. 3637. Ant. J. C. 372. Diod. l. 15. p. 385. (z) Id. l. 16. p. 410.

Syracusan power, which he had found means to render formidable to Carthage it self, as well as to the most potent states of Greece and Italy. Besides which it was to be seared, that should they attempt a change in the government, the sad consequences of a civil war might deprive them of all those advantages: And at the same time the gentle and humane disposition of young Dionysius gave them reason to entertain the most savourable hopes of the suture. He therefore peaceably ascended his sather's throne.

England has feen fomething of this kind in the famous Cromwell, who died in his bed with as much tranquillity as the best of princes, and was interred with the same honours and pomp as the most lawful sovereign. Richard his son succeeded him, and was for some time in equal authority with his father, though

he had not any of his great qualities.

(a) Dion the bravest, and at the same time the wisest of the Syracusans, Dionysius's brother-in-law, might have been of great support to him, had he known how to make use of his counsels. In the first assembly held by Dionysius and all his friends, Dion spoke in fo wife a manner upon what was necessary and expedient in the present conjuncture, as shewed that the rest were like infants in comparison with him, and in regard to a just boldness and freedom of speech, were no more than despicable flaves of the tyranny, solely employed in the abject endeavour of pleafing the prince. But what furprized and amazed them most was that Dion, at a time when the whole court were struck with terror at the prospect of the storm, forming on the fide of Carthage and just ready to break upon Sicily, should insist that if Dionysius desired peace, he would embark immediately for Africa, and dispel this tempest to his satisfaction; or if he preferred the war, that he would furnish and maintain him fifty galleys of three benches compleately equipped for fervice.

Dionyfius admiring and extolling his generous mag-

(s) Plut. in Dion. p. 960, 961.

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nanimity to the skies, professed the highest gratitude to him for his zeal and affection; but the courtiers, who looked upon Dion's magnificence as a reproach to themselves, and his great power as a lessening of their own, took immediate occasion from thence to calumniate him, and spared no discourse, that might influence the young prince against him. They insinuated, that in making himself strong at sea he would open his way to the tyranny; and that he designed to transport the sovereignty on board his vessels to his

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But what put them most out of humour with Dion was his manner of life, which was a continual reproach to theirs. For these courtiers having presently infinuated themselves, and got the ascendant of the young tyrant, who had been wretchedly educated, thought of nothing but of supplying him perpetually with new amusements, keeping him always employed in feasting, abandoned to women and all manner of shameful pleasures. (b) In the beginning of his reign he made a debauch, which continued for three months entire, during all which time his palace, thut against all persons of sense and reason, was crowded with drunkards, and refounded with nothing but low buffoonery, obscene jests, lewd songs, dances, masquerades, and every kind of gross and dissolute extravagance. It is therefore natural to believe, that nothing could be more offensive and disgusting to them than the presence of Dion, who gave into none of these pleasures. For which reason, painting his virtues in such of the colours of vice as were most likely to difguise them, they found means to calumniate him with the prince, and to make his gravity pass for arrogance, and his freedom of speech for insolence and fedition. If he advanced any wife counsel, they treated him as a four pedagogue, who took upon him to obtrude his lectures, and to school his prince without being asked; and if he resused to share in the debauch

⁽b) Athen. l. 10. p. 435.

with the rest, they called him a man-hater, a splenetic melancholy wretch, who from the santastic height of virtue, looked down with contempt on the rest of the world, of whom he set himself up for the censor.

And indeed it must be confessed, that he had naturally fomething auftere and rigid in his manners and behaviour, which feemed to argue an haughtiness of nature, very capable not only of difgusting a young prince, nurtured from his infancy amidft flatteries and fubmissions, but the best of his friends, and those who were most nearly attached to him. Full of admiration for his integrity, fortitude and nobleness of sentiments, they represented to him, that for a statesman, who ought to know how to adapt himfelf to the different tempers of men, and to apply them to his purpofes, his humour was much too rough and forbidding. (c) Plato afterwards took pains to correct that defect in him, by making him intimate with a philofopher of a gay and polite turn of mind, whose conversation was very proper to inspire him with more easy and infinuating manners. He observes also upon that failing in a letter to him, wherein he speaks to this effect; "Confider, I beg you, that you are cenfured of being deficient in point of good nature and af-66 fability; and be entirely affured, that the most certain means to the success of affairs, is to be agreeable to the perfons with whom we have to trans-" act. An " haughty carriage keeps people at a dif-" tance, and reduces a man to pass his life in solitude." Notwithstanding this defect, he continued to be highly confidered at court; where his fuperior abilities and transcendent merit made him absolutely necessary, especially at a time when the state was threatened with great danger and emergency.

(c) Plat. Epift. 4.

elsewhere, wherein this version is faulty. Art of teaching the Belles Lettres. Vol. 3. p. 505.

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(d) As he believed, that all the vices of young Dionysius were the effect of his bad education, and entire ignorance of his duty, he conceived justly, that the best remedy would be to affociate him if possible with persons of wit and sense, whose folid, but agreeable, conversation might at once instruct and divert him: For the prince did not naturally want parts and genius.

The fequel will shew that Dionysius the younger had a natural propentity to what was good and virtuous, and a taste and capacity for arts and sciences. He knew how to fet a value upon the merit and talents, by which men are distinguished. He delighted in converfing with persons of ability, and from his correspondence with them made himself capable of the highest improvements. He went so far as to familiarize the throne with the sciences, which of themfelves have little or no access to it; and by rendering them in a manner his favourites, he gave them courage to make their appearance in courts. His protection was the patent of nobility by which he raifed them to honour and distinction. Nor was he insenfible to the joys of friendship. In private he was a good parent, relation and mafter, and acquired the affection of all that approached him. He was not naturally inclined to violence or cruelty; and it might be faid of him, that he was rather a tyrant by succession and inheritance, than by temper and inclination.

All which demonstrates, that he might have made a very tolerable prince, (not to say a good one) had an early and proper care been taken to cultivate the happy disposition, which he brought into the world with him. But his father, to whom all merit, even in his own children, gave umbrage, industriously suppressed in him all tendency to goodness, and every noble and elevated sentiment, by a base and obscure education, with the view of preventing his attempting any thing against himself. It was therefore necessary to find a person of the character before mentioned, or rather to

⁽d) Plut. in Dion. p. 962. Plat. Epist. 7. p. 327, 328.

inspire himself with the desire of having such an one found.

This was what Dion laboured with wonderful ad-He often talked to him of Plato, as the most profound and illustrious of philosophers, whose merit he had experienced, and to whom he was obliged for all he knew. He enlarged upon the elevation of his genius, the extent of his knowledge, the amiableness of his character, and the charms of his conversation. He represented him particularly as the man of the world most capable of forming him in the arts of governing, upon which his own and the people's happiness depended. He told him, that his subjects, governed for the future with lenity and indulgence, as a good father governs his family, would voluntarily render that obedience to his moderation and justice, which force and violence extorted from them against their will; and that by fuch a conduct he would, from a tyrant, become a just king, to whom all submission would be paid out of affection and gratitude.

It is incredible how much these discourses, introduced in conversation from time to time, as if by accident, without affectation, or the appearance of any premeditated defign, enflamed the young prince with the defire of knowing and conversing with Plato. He wrote to him in the most importunate and obliging manner to that purpose; he dispatched couriers after couriers to haften his voyage; whilst Plato, who apprehended the consequences, and had small hopes of any good effect of it, protracted the affair, and without absolutely refusing, sufficiently intimated, that he could not refolve upon it, without doing violence to The obstacles and difficulties, made to the young prince's request, were so far from disgusting him, that they only ferved, as it commouly happens, to inflame his desire. The Pythagorean philosophers of Græcia major in Italy joined their entreaties with his and Dion's, who on his part redoubled his instances, and used the strongest arguments to conquer Plato's

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to's repugnance. "This is not, faid he, the concern of a private person, but of a powerful prince, whose " change of manners will have the same effect throughout his whole dominions, with the extent of which " you are not unacquainted. It is himself who makes " all these advances; who importunes and follicites " you to come to his affiftance, and employs the in-" terest of all your friends to that purpose. " more favourable conjuncture could we expect from " the divine providence than that which now offers " itself? Are you not afraid that your delays will " give the flatterers, who furround the young prince, " the opportunity of drawing him over to themselves, " and of feducing him to change his refolution? "What reproaches would you not make yourfelf, and " what dishonour would it not be to philosophy, " should it ever be said, that Plato, whose counsels " to Dionysius might have established a wise and e-" quitable government in Sicily, abandoned it to all " the evils of tyranny, rather than undergo the fa-" tigues of a voyage, or from I know not what o-" ther imaginary difficulties?"

(e) Plato could not refift follicitations of so much force. Vanquished by the consideration of his own character, and to obviate the reproach of his being a philosopher in words only, without having ever shewn himself such in his actions, and conscious besides of the great advantages which Sicily might acquire from his

voyage, he suffered himself to be persuaded.

The flatterers at the court of Dionysius, terrified with the resolution he had taken contrary to their remonstrances, and searing the presence of Plato, of which they foresaw the consequences, united together against him as their common enemy. They rightly judged, that if, according to the new maxims of government, all things were to be measured by the standard of true merit, and no savour to be expected from the prince, but for the services done the state, they

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⁽e) Plut. p. 962.

had nothing further to expect, and might wait their whole lives at court to no manner of purpose. They therefore spared no pains to render Plato's voyage ineffectual, though they were not able to prevent it. They prevailed upon Dionysius to recal Philistus from banishment, who was not only an able soldier but a great historian, very eloquent and learned, and a zealous affertor of the tyranny. They hoped to find a counterpoise in him against Plato and his philosophy. Upon his being banished by Dionysius the elder on fome personal discontent, he retired into the city of Adria, where it was believed he composed the greatest part of his writings. (f) He wrote the history of Egypt in twelve books, that of Sicily in eleven, and of Dionysius the tyrant in fix; all which works are entirely loft. Cicero praises * him much, and calls him Thucydides the less, pene pusillus Thucydides, to fignify that he copied after that author not unhappily. The courtiers at the same time made complaints against Dion to Dionyfius, accusing him of having held conferences with Theodotus and Heraclides, the fecret enemies of that prince, upon measures for subverting the tyranny.

(g) This was the state of affairs when Plato arrived in Sicily. He was received with infinite caresses, and with the highest marks of honour and respect. Upon his landing, he found one of the prince's charious equally magnificent in its horses and ornaments attending upon him. The tyrant offered a facrifice, as if some singular instance of good fortune had befallen him; nor was he mistaken, for a wise man, who is capable of giving a prince good counsels, is a treasure of inestimable value to a whole nation. But the

(f) Diod. l. 13. p. 222.

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^{*} Hunc (Thucydidem) confecutus est Syracufius Philistus, qui cum Dionysii tyranni familiarissimus esset, otium suum consumpsit in historia scribenda, maximeque Thucydidem est, sicut mihi vi-

⁽g) Plut. in Dion. p. 963.

Siculus ille creber, acutus, brevis, pene pusillus Thucydides. Id. Epist. 13. od Qu. frat. l. 2.

worth of fuch a person is rarely known, and more rarely applied to the uses which might be made of it.

Plato found the most happy dispositions imaginable in young Dionysius, who applied himself entirely to his lessons and counsels. But as he had improved infinitely from the precepts and example of Socrates his master, the most exquisite of all the pagan world in forming the mind for a right tafte of truth, he took care to adapt himself with wonderful address to the young tyrant's humour, avoiding all direct attacks upon his passions; taking pains to acquire his confidence by kind and infinuating behaviour; and particularly endeavouring to render virtue amiable, and at the fame time triumphant over vice, which keeps mankind in its chains, by the fole force of allurements,

pleasures, and voluptuousness.

The change was fudden and furprizing. young prince, who had abandoned himself till then to idleness, pleasure and luxury, and was ignorant of all the duties of his character, the inevitable confequence of a dissolute life, awaking as from a lethargic fleep, began to open his eyes, to have fome idea of the beauty of virtue, and to relish the refined pleafure of conversation equally solid and agreeable. He was now as passionately fond of learning and initruction, as he had once been averse and repugnant to The court, which always apes the prince, and falls in with his inclinations in every thing, entered into the same way of thinking. The apartments of the palace, like fo many schools of geometry, were full of the dust made use of by the profesfors of that science in tracing their figures, and in a very short time the study of philosophy and of every kind of literature became the reigning and universal tafte.

The great benefit of these studies in regard to a prince does not confift alone in floring his mind with an infinity of the most curious, useful, and often necessary notions of things, but has the farther advan-

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tage of abstracting himself from idleness, indolence, and the frivolous amusements of a court; of habituating him to a life of application and reflection; of inspiring him with a passion to inform himself in the duties of the sovereignty, and to know the characters of such as have excelled in the art of reigning; in a word, of making himself capable of governing the state in his own person, and of seeing every thing with his own eyes, that is to say, to be indeed a king; but That the courtiers and slatterers are almost always

unanimous in opposing.

They were confiderably alarmed by a word that escaped Dionysius, and shewed how much he was affected with the discourses he had heard upon the happiness of a king, regarded with tender affection by his people as their common father, and the wretched condition of a tyrant, whom they abhor and detest. Some days after Plato's arrival, was the anniversary, on which a folemn facrifice was offered in the palace for the prince's prosperity. The herald having prayed to this effect according to custom, That it would please the gods to support the tyranny, and preserve the tyrant: Dionysius, who was not far from him, and to whom those terms began to grow odious, called out to him aloud, Will you not give over curfing me? Philistus and his party were infinitely alarmed at that expression, and judged from it, that time and habit must give Plato an invincible ascendant over Dionysius, if the correspondence of a few days could so entirely alter his disposition. They therefore set themfelves at work upon new and more effectual stratagems against him.

They began by turning the retired life which Dionysius led with Plato, and the studies, in which he employed himself, into ridicule, as if intended to make a philosopher of him. But that was not all; they laboured in concert to render the zeal of Dion and Plato suspected, and even odious to him. They

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represented them as * impertinent censors and imperious pedagogues, who assumed an authority over him, which neither consisted with his age nor rank. † It is no wonder that a young prince like Dionysius, who, with the most excellent natural parts, and amidst the best examples, would have found it difficult to have supported himself, should at length give way to such artful infinuations in a court, that had long been insected, where there was no emulation but to excel in vice, and where he was continually besieged by a crowd of flatterers incessantly praising and admiring him in every thing.

But the principal application of the courtiers was to decry the character and conduct of Dion himself; not feparately, nor in the method of whisper, but all together, and in public. They talked openly, and to whoever would give them the hearing, that it was very visible, Dion made use of Plato's eloquence, to infinuate and enchant Dionysius, with design to draw him into a voluntary refignation of the throne, that he might take possession of it for his nephews, the children of Aristomache, and establish them in the sovereignty. They added, that it was very extraordinary and afflicting, that the Athenians, who had formerly invaded Sicily with great forces both by fea and land, which had all perished there without being able to take Syracuse, should now with a single sophist attain their point, and subvert the tyranny of Dionyflus, by perfuading him to difmiss the ten thousand strangers of his guard; to lay aside his sleet of four hundred gallies, which he always kept in readiness for fervice; and to disband his ten thousand horse, and the greatest part of his foot; for the fake of going to find in the academy, (the place where Plato taught)

a pretended fupreme good not explicable, and to make

^{*} Triftes et superciliosos alienæ vitæ censores, publicos pædagogos. Sen. Epist. 123.

[†] Vix artibus honestis pudor

retinetur, nedum inter certamina vitiorum pudicitia, aut modestia, aut quidquam probi moris servaretur. Tacit. Annal. 1. 4. c. 15.

himself happy in imagination by the study of geometry, whilst he abandoned to Dion and his nephews a real and substantial felicity, confisting in empire, riches, luxury, and pleasure.

SECT. II. Banishment of Dion. Plato quits the court foon after, and returns into Greece. Dion admired by all the learned. Plate returns to Syracuse.

THE courtiers, intent upon making the best use of every favourable moment, perpetually befieged the young prince, and covering their fecret motives under the appearance of zeal for his service, and an affected moderation in regard to Dion, inceffantly advised him to take proper measures for the security of his life and throne. Such repeated discourses soon raised in the mind of Dionysius the most violent sufpicions of Dion, which presently increased into herce refentment, and broke out in an open rupture. Letters were privately brought to Dionyfius, written by Dion to the Carthaginian ambassadors, wherein he tells them, that when they should treat of peace with Dionystus, he would advise them not to open the conferences but in his presence; because he would assist them in making the treaty more firm and lasting. Dionysius read these letters to Philistus, and having concerted with him what measures to take, (b) he amused Dion with the appearance of a reconciliation, and led him alone to the fea-fide below the citadel, where he shewed him his letters, and accused him of having entered into a league against him with the Carthaginians. Dion would have justified himself, but he refufed to hear him, and made him immediately go on board a brigantine, which had orders to carry him to the coast of Italy, and to leave him there. Dion immediately after set sail for Peloponnesus.

(i) So hard and unjust a treatment could not fail of making abundance of noise, and the whole city declared against it; especially as it was reported, though

(b) Diod. 1. 16. p. 410, 411. (i) Plut. p. 964.

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without foundation, that Plato had been put to death.

(k) Dionysius, who apprehended the consequences, took pains to appease the public discontent, and to obviate complaints. He gave Dion's relations two vessels to transport to him in Peloponnesus his riches and numerous family; for he had the equipage of a king.

As foon as Dion was gone, Dionyfius made Plato change his lodging, and brought him into the citadel: in appearance to do him honour, but in reality to affure himself of his person, and prevent him from going to join Dion. In bringing Plato nearer to him. he might also have in view the opportunity of hearing him more frequently and more commodioufly. For charmed with the delights of his conversation. and studious of pleasing him in every thing, and to merit his affection, he had conceived an esteem, or rather passion for him, which rose even to jealousv. but a jealoufy of that violence, that could fuffer neither companion nor rival. He was for engroffing him entirely to himself, for reigning solely in his thoughts and affections, and for being the only object of his love and esteem. He seemed content to give him all his treasures and authority, provided he would but love him better than Dion, and not prefer the latter's friendship to his. Plutarch has reason to call this passion a tyrannic affection (1). Plato had much to suffer from it; for it had all the symptoms of the most ardent * Sometimes it was all friendship, caresses, and fond respect, with an unbounded effusion of heart, and an endless swell of tender sentiments: Sometimes it was all reproaches, menaces, fierce passion, and wild emotion; and foon after it funk into repentance, excuses, tears, and humble entreaties of pardon and forgiveness.

About this time a war broke out very conveniently

⁽k) Plat. Ep. 7. (1) apacon ruparrimor apara.

^{*} In amore hæc omnia insunt sum. Terent. in Eunuch.

vitia; suspiciones, inimicitiæ, injuriæ, induciæ, bellum, pax rurlum, pax rursum. Horac.

for Plato, which obliged Dionysius to restore him his liberty, and send him home. At his departure, he would have laden him with presents, but Plato resuled them, contenting himself with his promise to recal Dion the following spring: he did not keep his word, and only sent him his revenues, desiring Plato in his letters to excuse his breach of promise at the time presixed, and to impute it only to the war. He assured him, as soon as peace should be concluded, that Dion should return; upon condition however, that he should continue quiet, and not intermeddle in affairs, nor endeavour to lessen him in the opinion of the Greeks.

Plato in his return to Greece, went to fee the games at Olympia, where he happened to lodge amongst strangers of distinction. He eat and passed whole days with them, behaving himself in a plain and simple manner, without ever mentioning Socrates or the academy, or making himfelf known in any thing, except that his name was Plato. The strangers were overjoyed with having met with fo kind and amiable a companion; but as he never talked of any thing out of common conversation, they had not the least notion, that he was the philosopher whose reputation was so universal. When the games were over, they went with him to Athens, where he provided them with lodgings. They were scarce arrived there, when they defired him to carry them to fee the famous philosopher of his name, who had been Socrates's disciple. Plato told them smiling, that he was the man; upon which, the strangers, surprized at their having possessed fo inestimable a treasure without knowing it, were much displeased with, and secretly reproached themselves for not having discerned the great merit of the man, through the veil of fimplicity and modesty he had thrown over it, whilst they admired him the more upon that account.

(m) The time Dion passed at Athens was not lost,

(m) Plut. in Dion. p. 964.

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He employed it chiefly in the fludy of philosophy, for which he had a great taste, and which was become his passion. * He knew however, which is not very easy, to confine it within its just bounds, and never gave himself up to it at the expence of any duty. It was at the same time Plato made him contract a particular friendship with his nephew Speusippus, who, uniting the easy and infinuating manners of a courtier with the gravity of a philosopher, knew how to associate mirth and innocent pleasure with the most serious affairs, and by that character very rarely found amongst men of learning, was the most proper of all men to soften what was too rough and austere in the humour of Dion.

Whilst Dion was at Athens, it fell to Plato's turn to give the public games, and to have tragedies performed at the feast of Bacchus, which was usually attended with great magnificence and expence, from an extraordinary emulation which had grown into fashion. Dion defrayed the whole charge. Plato, who was studious of all occasions of producing him to the public, was well pleased to resign that honour to him, as his magnificence might make him still better beloved and esseemed by the Athenians.

Dion visited also the other cities of Greece, where he was present at all their seasts and assemblies, and conversed with the most excellent wits, and the most prosound statesmen. He was not distinguished in company by the lostiness and pride too common in persons of his rank, but, on the contrary, by an unaffected, simple, and modest air; and especially by the elevation of his genius, the extent of his knowledge, and the wisdom of his reslections. All cities paid him the highest honours, and the Lacedæmonians declared him a citizen of Sparta, without regard to the resentment of Dionysius, though he actually assisted them at that time with a powerful supply in their war against the

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^{*} Retinuitque, quod est difficillimum, ex sapientia modum. Tacit. in vit. agric. n. 4.

Thebans. So many marks of esteem and distinction alarmed the tyrant's jealousy. He put a stop to the remittance of Dion's revenues, and ordered

them to be received by his own officers.

(n) After Dionysius had put an end to the war he was engaged in in Sicily, of which history relates no circumstance, he was afraid that his treatment of Plato would prejudice the philosophers against him, and make him pass for their enemy. For this reason he invited the most learned men of Italy to his court, where he held frequent affemblies, in which, out of a foolish ambition, he endeavoured to excel them all in eloquence and profound knowledge; venting, without application, fuch of Plato's discourses as he retained. But as he had those discourses only by rote, and his heart had never been rightly affected with them, the fource of his eloquence was foon exhausted. then perceived what he had loft by not having made a better use of that treasure of wisdom once in his own possession and under his own roof, and by not having heard, in all their extent, the admirable lectures of the greatest philosopher in the world.

As in tyrants every thing is violent and irregular, Dionysius was suddenly seized with an excessive desire of seeing Plato again, and used all means for that purpose. He prevailed upon Architas, and the other Pythagorean philosophers, to write to him that he might return with all manner of security, and to be bound for the performances of all the promises, which had been made to him. They deputed Archidemus to Plato, and Dionysius sent at the same time two galleys of three benches of rowers, with several of his friends on board to intreat his compliance. He also wrote letters to him with his own hand, in which he frankly declared, that if he would not be persuaded to come to Sicily, Dion had nothing to expect from him; but if he came, that he might entirely dispose of every

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⁽n) Plat. Epist. 7. p. 338, 340. Plut. in Dion. p. 964, 966.

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Dion received several letters at the same time from his wise and sister, who press'd him to prevail upon Plato to make the voyage, and to satisfy the impatience of Dionysius, that he might have no new pretexts against him upon that account. Whatever repugnance Plato had to it, he could not resist the warm sollicitations made to him, and determined to go to Sicily for the the third time, at seventy years of age.

His arrival gave the whole people new hopes, who flattered themselves, that his wildom would at length overthrow the tyranny, and the joy of Dionysius was inexpressible. He appointed the apartment of the gardens for his lodging, the most honourable in the palace, and had so much considence in him, that he suffered his access to him at all hours without being fearched; a favour not granted to any of his best friends.

After the first caresses were over, Plato was for entering into Dion's affair, which he had much at heart, and which was the principal motive of his voyage. But Dionysius put it off at first; to which ensued complaints and murmurings, though not outwardly expressed for some time. The tyrant took great care to conceal his sentiments upon that head, endeavouring by all manner of honours, and by all possible regard and complacency to abate his friendship for Dion. Plato dissembled on his side, and though extremely shocked at so notorious a breach of faith, he kept his opinion to himself.

Whilst they were upon these terms, and believed that no body penetrated their secret; Helicon of Cyzicum, one of Plato's particular friends, foretold, that on a certain day there would be an eclipse of the sun; which happening according to his prediction, exactly at the hour, Dionysius was so much surprized and astonished at it, (a proof that he was no great philosopher) that he made him a present of a * talent.

^{*} A thousand crowns.

Aristippus jesting upon that occasion, said, that he had also something very incredible and extraordinary to foretel Upon being press'd to explain himself, "I prophefy, faid he, that it will not be long before "Dionysius and Plato, who seem to agree so well

" with each other, will be enemies."

Dionysius verified this prediction; for being weary of the constraint he laid upon himself, he ordered all Dion's lands and effects to be fold, and applied the money to his own use. At the same time he made Plato quit the apartments in the garden, and gave him another lodging without the castle in the midst of his guards, who had long hated him, and would have been glad of an opportunity to kill him, because he had advised Dionysius to renounce the tyranny, to break them, and to live without any other guard but the love of his people. Plato was fensible, that he owed his life to the tyrant's favour, who restrained the fury of his guard.

Architas, the celebrated Pythagorean philosopher, who was the principal person, and supreme magistrate of Tarentum, had no fooner heard of Plato's great danger, than he fent ambaffadors with a galley of thirty oars to demand him from Dionysius, and to remind him that he came to Syracuse only upon his promise, and that of all the Pythagorean philosopher, who had engaged for his fafety; that therefore he could not retain him against his will, nor fuffer any infult to be done to his person, without a manifelt breach of faith, and absolutely forfeiting the opinion of all honest men. These just remonstrances awakened a sense of shame in the tyrant, who at last per-

mitted Plato to return into Greece.

(o) Philosophy and wisdom abandoned the palace with him. To the conversations, as agreeable as useful, to that tafte and passion for the arts and sciences, to the grave and judicious reflections of a profoundly wife politician, idle tattle, frivolous amusements, and a

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⁽e) Plut. in Moral, p. 52.

stupid indolence, entirely averse to every thing serious or reasonable, were seen to succeed. Gluttony, drunkenness, and debauchery resumed their empire at the court, and transformed it from the school of virtue, which it had been under Plato, into the real stable of Circe.

SECT. III. Dion sets out to deliver Syracuse. Sudden and fortunate success of his enterprize. Horrid ingratitude of the Syracusans. Unparallelled goodness of Dion to them and his most cruel enemies. His death.

(p) WHEN Plato had quitted Sicily, Dionysius threw off all referve, and married his fifter Arete, Dion's wife, to Timocrates, one of his friends. So unworthy a treatment was, in a manner, the fignal of the war. From that moment Dion resolved to attack the tyrant with open force, and to revenge himfelf for all the wrongs he had done him. Plato did all in his power to make him change his refolution; but finding his endeavours ineffectual, he foretold the miffortunes he was about to occasion, and declared, that he must expect neither affistance nor relief from him; that as he had been the guest and companion of Dionysius, had lodged in his palace, and joined in the fame facrifices with him, he should never forget the duties of hospitality; and at the same time, not to be wanting to his friendship for Dion, that he would continue neuter, always ready to discharge the offices of a mediator between them, though he should oppose their defigns, when they tended to the destruction of each other.

Whether prudence, or gratitude, or the conviction that Dion could not justifiably undertake to dethrone Dionysius; this was Plato's opinion. On the other hand, Speusippus, and all the rest of Dion's friends, perpetually exhorted him to go and restore the liberty of Sicily, which opened its arms to him, and was

(p) A. M. 3643. Ant. J. C. 361. Plut. in Dion. p. 966, 968.

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ind a Aupid ready to receive him with the utmost joy. This was indeed the disposition of Syracuse, which Speusippus, during his residence there with Plato, had sufficiently experienced. This was the universal cry; whilst they importuned and conjured Dion to come thither, desiring him not to be in pain for the want of ships or troops, but only to embark in the first merchant vessel he met with, and lend his person and name to the

Syracufans against Dionysius.

Dion did not hefitate any longer upon taking that resolution, which in one respect cost him not a little. From the time that Dionysius had obliged him to quit Syracufe and Sicily, he had led in his banishment the most agreeable life it was possible to imagine, for a person, who like him had contracted a taste for the delights of fludy. He enjoyed in peace the conversation of the philosophers, and was present at their disputations; fhining in a manner intirely peculiar to himfelf by the greatness of his genius, and the folidity of his judgment; going to all the cities of the learned Greece, to fee and converse with the most eminent for knowledge and capacity, and to correspond with the ablest politicians; leaving every where the marks of his liberality and magnificence, equally beloved and respected by all that knew him; and receiving wherever he came, the highest honours, which were rendered more to his merit than his birth. It was from fo happy a life, that he withdrew himfelf to go to the relief of his country which implored his protection, and to deliver it from the yoke of a tyranny under which it had long groaned.

No enterprize perhaps was ever formed with so much boldness, or conducted with so much prudence. Dion began to raise foreign troops privately by proper agents, for the better concealment of his design. A great number of considerable persons, and who were at the head of affairs, joined with him. But what is very surprizing, of all those the tyrant had banished, and who were not less than a thousand, only twenty five accompanied

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accompanied him in this expedition; so much had fear got the possession of them. The isle of Zacynthus was the place of rendezvous, where the troops assembled to the number of almost eight hundred; but all of them courage-proved on great occasions, excellently disciplined and robust, of an audacity and experience rarely to be found amongst the most brave and warlike; and in fine, highly capable of animating the troops which Dion was in hopes of finding in Sicily, and of setting them the example of fighting with all the valour so noble an enterprize required.

But when they were to fet forwards, and it was known that this armament was intended against Sicily and Dionysius, for till then it had not been declared, they were all in a consternation, and repented their having engaged in the enterprize which they could not but conceive as the effect of extreme rashness and folly, that in the last despair was for putting every thing to the hazard. Dion had occasion at this time for all his resolution and eloquence to re-animate the troops, and remove their fears. But after he had fpoke to them, and with an affured though modest tone, had made them understand, that he did not lead them in this expedition as foldiers, but as officers, to put them at the head of the Syracufans and all the people of Sicily, who had been long prepared for a revolt, their dread and fadness were changed into shouts of joy, and they defired nothing fo much as to pro-

Dion having prepared a magnificent facrifice to be offered to Apollo, put himself at the head of his troops compleatly armed, and in that equipage marched in procession to the temple. He afterwards gave a great feast to the whole company, at the end of which, after the libations and solemn prayers had been made, there happened a sudden eclipse of the moon. Dion, who was well versed in the causes of such appearances, reassured his soldiers, who were at first in some terror upon that account. The next day they embarked on

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board two trading vessels, which were followed by a third not so large, and by two barks of thirty oars.

(r) Who could have imagined, fays an historian, that a man with two merchant-veffels should ever dare to attack a prince, who had four * hundred ships of war, an hundred thousand foot and ten thousand horse, with magazines of arms and corn in proportion, and treasures sufficient to pay and maintain them; who, besides all this, was in possession of one of the greatest and strongest cities then in the world, with ports. arfenals, and impregnable citadels, with the additional strength and support of a great number of potent allies? The event will shew, whether force and power are adamantine chains for retaining a state in subjection, as the elder Dionysius flattered himself; or if the goodness, humanity, and justice of princes, and the love of subjects are not infinitely stronger and more indiffoluble ties.

(s) Dion having put to sea with his small body of troops, was twelve days under sail with little wind, and the thirteenth arrived at Pachynus a cape of Sicily, about twelve or fifteen leagues from Syracuse. When they came up with that place, the pilot gave notice that they must land directly, that there was reason to sear an hurricane, and therefore not proper to put to sea. But Dion, who apprehended making his descent so near the enemy, and chose to land surther off, doubled the cape of Pachynus, which he had no sooner passed, than a surious storm arose, attended with

(r) Diod. 1. 16. p. 413. (s) Plut. in Dion. p. 968, 972. Diod. 1. 16. p. 414, 417.

* It is not easy to comprehend, bow the two Dionysii were capable of entertaining so great a force by sea and land, their dominions being only a part of Sicily, and consequently of no great extent. It is true, that the city of Syracuse had been very much enriched by commerce; and that those two princes received great contributions both from the places of Sicily and Italy

in their dependance: But it is still no easy matter to conceive how all this should suffice to the enormous expences of Diony sius the elder, in stiting out great sleets, raising and maintaining numerous armies, and eresting magnificent buildings. It were to be wished, that historians had given us some better lights upon this head.

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rain, thunder, and lightning, which drove his thips to the eastern coast of Africa, where they were in great danger of dashing to pieces against the rocks. Happily for them a fouth wind rifing suddenly contrary to expectation, they unfurled all their fails, and after having made vows to the gods, they flood out to fea for Sicily. The ran in this manner four days, and on the fifth entered the port of Minoa, a small town of Sicily under the Carthaginians; whose commander Synalus was Dion's particular friend and gueft. They were perfectly well received, and would have flaid there some time to refresh themselves, after the rude fatigues they had fuffered during the storm, if they had not been informed, that Dionysius was absent, having embarked some days before for the coast of Italy, attended by fourscore vessels. The foldiers demanded earnestly to be led on against the enemy, and Dion, having defired Synalus to fend his baggage after him when proper, marched directly to Syracule.

His troops increased confiderably upon his rout by the great number of those who came to join him from The news of his arrival being foon known at Syracuse, Timocrates, who had married Dion's wife, the fifter of Dionysius, to whom he had lest the command of the city in his absence, dispatched a courier to him into Italy, with advice of Dion's progress. But that courier, being almost at his journey's end, was fo fatigued with having run the best part of the night, that he found himself under the necessity of stopping to take a little sleep. In the mean time, a wolf, attracted by the smell of a piece of meat, which he had in his wallet, came to the place, and ran away with both the flesh and the bag, in which he had al-To put his dispatches. Dionysius was by this means prevented for some time from knowing that Dion was arrived, and then received the news from other

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When Dion was near the Anapus, which runs a-

bout half a league from the city, he ordered his troops to halt, and offered a facrifice upon the river fide, addressing his prayers to the rising sun. All who were prefent, feeing him with a wreath of flowers upon his head, which he wore upon account of the facrifice, crowned themselves also in the same manner, as animated with one and the fame spirit. He had been joined on his march by at least five thousand men, and advanced with them towards the city. The most confiderable of the inhabitants came out in white habits to receive him at the gates. At the fame time the people fell upon the tyrant's friends, and upon the fpies and informers, an accurfed race of wretches, * THE ENEMIES OF THE GODS AND MEN, fays Plutarch, who made it the business of their lives, to disperse themselves into all parts, to mingle with the citizens, to pry into all their affairs, and to report to the tyrant whatever they faid or thought, and often what they neither faid nor thought. These were the first victims to the fury of the people, and were knocked on the head with flaves immediately. Timocrates not being able to throw himself into the citadel, rode off on horseback.

At that instant Dion appeared within sight of the walls. He marched at the head of his troops magnificently armed, with his brother Megacles on one side, and Callippus the Athenian on the other, both crowned with chaplets of flowers. After him came an hundred of the foreign soldiers, sine troops whom he had chosen for his guard. The rest sollowed in order of battle with their officers at the head of them. The Syracusans beheld them with inexpressible satisfaction, and received them as a sacred procession, whom the gods themselves regarded with pleasure, and who restored them their liberty with the democracy forty eight years after they had been banished from their

city.

After Dion had made his entry, he ordered the

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trumpets to found, to appeale the noise and tumult; and filence being made, an herald proclaimed, that Dion and Megacles were come to abolish the tyranny, and to free the Syracusans and all the people of Sicily from the yoke of the tyrant. And being desirous to harangue the people in person, he went to the upper part of the city, through the quarter called Achra-Wherever he passed, the Syracusans had set out, on both fides of the streets, tables and bowls, and had prepared victims, and as he came before their houses, they threw all forts of flowers upon him, addressing vows and prayers to him as to a god. Such was the origin of idolatry, which paid divine honours to those who had done the people any great and fignal fervices. And can there be any fervice, any gift, fo grateful, fo valuable, as that of liberty! Not far from the citadel, and below the place called Pentapylæ, stood a sun-dial upon an high pedefal, erected by Dionysius. Dion placed himself upon it, and in a speech to the people, exhorted them to employ their utmost efforts for the recovery and prefervation of their liberty. The Syracufans, transported with what he faid, and to express their gratitude and affection, elected him and his brother captain-generals with supreme authority; and by their confent, and at their entreaty, joined with them twenty of the most considerable citizens, half of whom were of the number of those who had been banished by Dionysius, and returned with Dion.

Having afterwards taken the castle of Epipolis, he set the citizens, who were prisoners in it at liberty, and fortissed it with strong works. Dionysius arrived from Italy seven days after, and entered the citadel by sea. The same day a great number of carriages brought Dion the arms which he had lest with Synalus. These he distributed amongst the citizens, who were unprovided. All the rest armed and equipped themselves as well as they could, expressing the greatest

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Dionysius began by sending ambassadors to Dion and the Syracufans with propofals, which feemed very advantagious. The answer was, that by way of preliminary, he must abdicate the tyranny; to which Dionysius did not seem averse. From thence he came to interviews and conferences; which were only feints to gain time, and abate the ardor of the Syracufans by the hope of an accommodation. Accordingly having made the deputies, who were fent to treat with him, prisoners, he suddenly attacked, with a great part of his troops, the wall, with which the Syracufans had furrounded the citadel, and made feveral breaches in it. So warm and unexpected affault put Dion's foldiers into great confusion, who immediately fled. Dion endeavoured in vain to stop them, and believing example more prevalent than words, he threw himself fiercely into the midst of the enemy, where he flood their charge with intrepid courage, and killed great numbers of them. He received a wound in the hand from a spear; his arms were scarce proof against the great number of darts thrown at him, and his shield being pierced through in many places with spears and javelins, he was at length beat down. His foldiers immediately brought him off from the enemy. He left Timonides to command them, and getting on horseback, rode through the whole city, stopt the flight of the Syracufans, and taking the foreign foldiers, whom he had left to guard the quarter called Achradina, he led them on fresh against Dionysius's troops, who were already fatigued, and entirely discouraged by so vigorous and unexpected a refistance. It was now no longer a battle, but a purfuit. A great number of the tyrant's troops were killed upon the spot, and the rest escaped with difficulty into the citadel. This victory was fignal and glorious. The Syracufans, to reward the valour of the foreign troops, gave each of them a confiderable fum of money; and those soldiers, to honour Dion, p.esented him with a crown of gold.

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Soon after came heralds from Dionysius, with several letters for Dion from the women of his family. and with one from Dionysius himself. Dion ordered them all to be read in a full affembly. That of Dionyfius was couched in the form of a request and juflification, intermixed however with the most terrible menaces against the persons who were dearest to Dion; his fifter, wife, and fon. It was wrote with an art and address exceedingly proper to render Dion suspected. Dionysius puts him in mind of the ardour and zeal, he had formerly expressed, for the support of the tyranny. He exhorts him at a distance and with some obscurity, though easy enough to be underflood, not to abolish it entirely; but to preserve it for himself. He advises him not to give the people their liberty, who were far from affecting him at heart; nor to abandon his own fafety, and that of his friends and relations, to the capricious humour of a violent and inconstant multitude.

(t) The reading of this letter had the effect Dionyfius proposed from it. The Syracusans, without regard to Dion's goodness to them, and the greatness of his foul in forgetting his dearest interests, and the ties of nature to restore them their liberty, took umbrage at his too great authority, and conceived injurious fufpicions of him. The arrival of Heraclides confirmed them in their fentiments, and determined them to act accordingly. He was one of the banished persons, a good foldier, and well known amongst the troops, from having been in confiderable commands under the tyrant, very bold and ambitious, and a fecret enemy of Dion's, between whom and himself, there had been fome difference in Peloponnesus. He came to Syracufe with feven gallies of three benches of oars, and three other vessels, not to join Dion, but in the resolution to march with his own forces against the tyrant, whom he found reduced to thut himself up in the citadel. His first endeavour was to ingratiate himself

⁽t) Plut. in Dion. p. 972, 975. Diod. l. 16. p. 419, 422.

with the people; for which an open and infinuating behaviour made him very fit, whilft Dion's auftere gravity was offensive to the multitude; especially as they were become more haughty and untractable from the last victory, and * expected to be treated like a popular state, even before they could call themselves a free people; that is to say in the full sense of the Greek terms, they were for being used with complainance, slattery, regard, and a deserence to all their

capricious humours.

What gratitude could be expected from a people, that consulted only their passions and blind prejudices? The Syracufans formed an affembly immediately upon their own accord, and chose Heraclides admiral. Dion came unexpectedly thither, and complained highly of fuch a proceeding; as the charge conferred upon Heraclides, was an abridgment of his office; that he was no longer generalissimo, if another commanded Those remonstrances obliged the Syracufans against their will, to deprive Heraclides of the office they had fo lately conferred upon him. When the affembly broke up, Dion fent for him, and after some. gentle reprimands for his strange conduct with regard to him in so delicate a conjuncture, wherein the least division amongst them might ruin every thing, he fummoned a new affembly himself, and in the prefence of the whole people, appointed Heraclides admiral, and gave him a guard, as he had himfelf.

He thought by the force of kind offices to get the better of his rival's ill-will, who, in his expressions and outward behaviour, made his court to Dion, confessed his obligations to him, and obeyed his orders with a promptitude and punctuality, which expressed an entire devotion to his service, and a desire of occasions to do him pleasure. But underhand, by his intrigues and cabals, he influenced the people against him, and opposed his designs in every thing. If

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Dion gave his confent that Dionysius should quit the citadel by treaty, he was accused of favouring, and intending to fave, him: If, to fatisfy them, he continued the fiege without hearkening to any propofals of accommodation, they did not fail to reproach him with the defire of protracting the war, for the fake of continuing in command, and to keep the citizens in awe and respect.

Philistus, who came to the tyrant's relief with several gallies, having been defeated and put to death. Dionyfius fent to offer Dion the citadel with the arms and troops in it, and money to pay them for five months, if he might be permitted by a treaty to retire into Italy for the rest of his life, and be allowed the revenue of certain lands, which he mentioned, in the neighbourhood of Syracuse. The Syracusans. who were in hopes of taking Dionysius alive, rejected those proposals; and Dionysius, despairing of reconciling them to his terms, left the citadel in the hands of his eldest son Apollocrates, and taking the advantage of a favourable wind, (u) embarked for Italy with his treasures and effects of the greatest value. and fuch of his friends as were dearest to him.

Heraclides, who commanded the gallies, was very much blamed for having fuffered him to escape by his negligence. To regain the people's favour, he proposed a new distribution of lands, infinuating, that as liberty was founded in equality, fo poverty was the principle of servitude. Upon Dion's opposing this motion, Heraclides perfuaded the people to reduce the pay of the foreign troops, who amounted to three thousand men, to declare a new division of land, to appoint new generals, and deliver themselves in good time from Dion's insupportable severity. The Syracufans agreed, and nominated twenty five new offi-

cers, Heraclides being one of the number.

At the fame time they fent privately to follicit the foreign foldiers to abandon Dion, and to join with

⁽a) A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360.

them, promising to give them a share in the government as natives and citizens. Those generous troops received the offer with disdain; and then placing Dion in the center of them, with a sidelity and affection of which there are sew examples, they made their bodies and their arms a rampart for him, and carried him out of the city without doing the least violence to any body, but warmly reproaching all they met with ingratitude and persidy. The Syracusans, who contemned their small number, and attributed their moderation to sear and want of courage, began to attack them, not doubting but they should defeat, and put them all to the sword, before they got out of the city.

Dion, reduced to the necessity of either fighting the citizens, or perishing with his troops, held out his hands to the Syracusans, imploring them in the most tender and affectionate manner to desist, and pointing to the citadel sull of enemies, who saw all that pass'd with the utmost joy. But finding them deaf and insensible to all his remonstrances, he commanded his soldiers to march in close order without attacking; which they obeyed, contenting themselves with making a great noise with their arms, and raising great cries, as if they were going to fall upon the Syracusans. The latter were dismayed with those appearances, and ran away in every street without being pursued. Dion hastened the march of his troops towards the country of the Leontines.

The officers of the Syracusans, laughed at and ridiculed by the women of the city, were desirous to retrieve their honour, and made their troops take arms, and return to the pursuit of Dion. They came up with him at the pass of a river, and made their horse advance to skirmish. But when they saw that Dion was resolved in earnest to repel their insults, and had made his troops face about with great indignation, they were again seized with terror, and taking to

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their heels in a more shameful manner than before,

made all the hafte they could to regain the city.

(y) The Leontines received Dion with great marks of honour and esteem. They also made presents to his foldiers, and declared them free citizens. Some days after which, they fent ambaffadors to demand justice for the ill treatment of those troops to the Syracusans, who on their side sent deputies to complain of Dion. Syracuse was intoxicated with inconsiderate joy and insolent prosperity, which entirely banished reflection

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Every thing conspired to swell and enslame their pride. The citadel was fo much reduced by famine, that the foldiers of Dionysius, after having suffered very much, resolved at last to surrender it. They fent in the night to make that proposal, and were to perform conditions the next morning. But at day-break, whilst they were preparing to execute the treaty, Nypfius, an able and valiant general, whom Dionysius had sent from Italy with corn and money to the befieged, appeared with his gallies, and anchored near Arethufa. Plenty succeeding on a sudden to famine, Nypfius landed his troops, and fummoned an affembly, wherein he made a speech to the foldiers fuitable to the present conjuncture, which determined them to hazard all dangers. The citadel, that was upon the point of furrendering, was relieved in this manner, contrary to all expectation.

The Syracufans at the fame time haftened on board their gallies, and attacked the enemy's fleet. They funk some of their ships, took others, and pursued the rest to the shore. But this very victory was the occasion of their ruin. Abandoned to their own discretion, without either leader of authority to command them or counsel, the officers as well as soldiers, gave themselves up to rejoicing, feasting, drinking, debauchery, and every kind of loofe excess. Nypfius knew well how to take advantage of this general

⁽y) Plut. p. 975, 981. Diod. p. 422, 423.

infatuation. He attacked the wall that inclosed the citadel, of which having made himself master, he demolished it in several places, and permitted his soldiers to enter and plunder the city. All things were in the utmost consusion. Here, the citizens half asseep had their throats cut; there, houses were plundered, whilst the women and children were driven off into the citadel, without regard to their tears, cries and lamentations.

There was but one man, who could remedy this misfortune, and preferve the city. This was in every body's thoughts, but no one had courage enough to propose it; so much ashamed were they of the ungenerous manner in which they had driven him out. As the danger increased every moment, and already approached the quarter Achradina, in the height of their extremity and despair, a voice was heard from the horse and allies, which said, that it was absolutely necessary to recal Dion and the Peloponnessan troops from the country of the Leontines. As foon as any body had courage enough to utter those words, they were the general cry of the Syraculans, who with tears of joy and grief, made prayers to the gods, that they would bring him back to them. The hope alone of feeing him again, gave them new courage, and enabled them to make head against the enemy. The deputies set out immediately with full speed, and arrived at the city of Leontium late in the evening.

As foon as they alighted, they threw themselves at Dion's feet, bathed in their tears, and related the deplorable extremity, to which the Syracusans were reduced. Some of the Leontines, and several of the Peloponnesian soldiers, who had seen them arrive, were already got round Dion, and conceived rightly from their emotion and prostrate behaviour, that something very extraordinary had happened. Dion had no sooner heard what they had to say, than he carried them with him to the assembly, which formed itself immediately; for the people ran thither with abun-

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dance of eagerness. The two principal deputies explained in a few words the greatness of their distress, and " implored the foreign troops to haften to the re-" lief of the Syracusans, and to forget the ill treat-" ment they had received, and the rather, because " that unfortunate people had already paid a feverer " penalty for it, than the most injured amongst them

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The deputies having finished their discourse, the whole theatre, where the affembly was held, continued fad and filent. Dion rose; but as soon as he began to speak, a torrent of tears suppressed his utterance. The foreign foldiers called out to him to take courage, and expressed a generous compassion of his grief. At length, having recovered himself a little, he spoke to them in these terms, " Men of Pe-"loponnesus, and you our allies, I have affembled " you here, that you might deliberate upon what re-" gards yourselves; as for my part, I must not deli-" berate upon any thing, when Syracuse is in dan-" ger. If I cannot preserve it, I go to perish with " it, and to bury myself in its ruins. But for you, " if you are refolved to affift us once more, us, who " are the most imprudent and most unfortunate of " mankind, come and relieve the city of Syracuse, " from henceforth the work of your hands. If not, " and the just subjects of complaint, which you have " against the Syracusans, determine you to abandon " them in their present condition, and to suffer them " to perish; may you receive from the immortal " gods, the reward you merit for the affection and " fidelity, which you have hitherto expressed for me. " For the rest, I have only to desire, that you will " keep Dion in your remembrance, who did not " abandon you when unworthily treated by his coun-"try, nor his country, when fallen into misfor-" tunes."

He had no fooner ceased speaking, than the foreign foldiers rose up with loud cries, and intreated him to

lead them on that moment to the relief of Syracuse. The deputies, transported with joy, saluted and embraced them, praying the gods to bestow upon Dion and them, all kind of happiness and prosperity. When the tumult was appealed, Dion ordered them to prepare for the march, and affoon as they had supped to return with their arms to the same place, being determined to fet out the same night, and fly to the relief of his country.

In the mean time at Syracuse, the officers of Diony fius, after having done all the mischief they could to the city, retired at night into the citadel with the loss of some of their soldiers. This short respite gave the feditious orators new courage, who, flattering themselves that the enemy would lie still after what they had done, exhorted the Syracufans to think no further of Dion, not to receive him if he came to their relief with his foreign troops, nor to yield to them in courage, but to defend their city and liberty with their own arms and valour. New deputies were inflantly dispatched from the general officers to prevent his coming, and from the principal citizens and his friends, to defire him to haften his march; which difference of fentiments, and contrariety of advices, occasioned his marching slowly, and by small journies.

When the night was far spent, Dion's enemies seized the gates of the city, to prevent his entrance. At the fame instant, Nypsius, well apprized of all that passed in Syracuse, made a fally from the citadel with a greater body of troops, and more determinate than before. They demolished the wall that inclosed them entirely, and entered the city, which they plundered. Nothing but flaughter and blood was feen every where. Nor did they stop for the pillage, but seemed to have no other view, than to ruin and destroy all before them. One would have thought, the fon of Dionyfius, whom his father had left in the citadel, being reduced to despair, and prompted by an excess of hatred

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for the Syracusans, was determined to bury the tyranny in the ruins of the city. To prevent Dion's relief of it they had recourse to fire, the swiftest of destructions, burning with torches and lighted straw, all places within their power, and darting combustibles against the rest. The Syracusans, who sted to avoid the slames, were butchered in the streets, and those, who to shun the all-murdering sword retired into the houses, were driven out of them again by the encroaching fire: For there were abundance of houses burning, and many that fell upon the people in the streets.

These very slames opened the city for Dion, by obliging the citizens to agree in not keeping the gates shut against him. Couriers after couriers were dispatched to hasten his march. Heraclides himself, his most declared and mortal enemy, deputed his brother, and afterwards his uncle Theodotus, to conjure him to advance with the utmost speed, there being no body besides himself to make head against the enemy, he being wounded, and the city almost entirely ruined

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Dion received this news, when he was about fixty * stadia from the gates. His soldiers upon that occasion marched with the utmost diligence, and with so good a will, that it was not long before he arrived at the walls of the city. He there detached his light-armed troops against the enemy, to reanimate the Syracusans by the sight of them. He then drew up his heavy-armed infantry, and the citizens who came running to join him on all sides. He divided them into small parties, of greater depth than front, and put different officers at the head of them, that they might be capable of attacking in several places at once, and appear stronger and more formidable to the enemy.

After having made these dispositions, and prayed to the gods, he marched a-cross the city against the enemy. In every street as he passed, he was welcomed with acclamations, cries of joy, and songs of victory,

^{*} Two or three leagues.

mingled with the prayers and bleffings of all the Syracusans; who called Dion their preserver and their god, and his soldiers, their brothers and sellow citizens. At that instant, there was not a single man in the city so fond of life, as not to be much more in pain for Dion's safety than his own, and not to sear much more for him, than for all the rest together, seeing him march foremost to so great a danger over blood, fire, and dead bodies, with which the streets

and publick places were universally covered.

On the other hand, the view of the enemy was no less terrible: For they were animated by rage and defpair, and were posted in line of battle behind the ruins of the wall they had thrown down, which made the approach very difficult and dangerous. They were under the necessity of defending the citadel, which was their fafety and retreat, and durst not remove from it, lest their communication should be cut off. But what was most capaple of disordering and discouraging Dion's foldiers, and made their march very painful and difficult, was the fire. For wherever they turned themselves, they marched by the light of the houses in flames, and were obliged to go over ruins in the midft of fires; exposing themselves to being crushed in pieces by the fall of walls, beams, and roofs of houses, which tottered half confumed by the flames, and under the necessity of keeping their ranks, whilst they opened their way through frightful clouds of fmoke, mingled with duft.

When they had joined the enemy, only a very fmall number on each fide were capable of coming to blows, from the want of room, and the unevenness of the ground. But at length, Dion's foldiers, encouraged and supported by the cries and ardour of the Syracusans, charged the enemy with such redoubled vigour, that the troops of Nypsius gave way. The greatest part of them escaped into the citadel, which was very near; and those who remained without, be-

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The time would not admit their making immediate rejoicings for their victory, in the manner fo great an exploit deserved; the Syracusans being obliged to apply to the preservation of their houses, and to pass the whole night in extinguishing the fire; which however they did not effect without great difficulty.

At the return of day, none of the seditious orators durst stay in the city, but all sted self-condemned to avoid the punishment due to their crimes. Only Heraclides and Theodotus came to Dion, and put themthemselves into his hands, confessing their injurious treatment of him, and conjuring him not to imitate their ill conduct: That it became Dion, superior as he was in all other respects to the rest of mankind, to shew himself as much so in that greatness of soul, which could conquer resentment and revenge, and forgive the ungrateful, who owned themselves un-

worthy of his pardon.

Heraclides and Theodotus having made these supplications, Dion's friends advised him not to spare men of their vile and malignant disposition; but to abandon Heraclides to the foldiers, and in fo doing, exterminate from the state that spirit of sedition and intrigue; a distemper that has really something of madness in it, and is no less to be feared from its pernicious consequences, than Tyranny itself. But Dion, to appeale them, faid, " That other captains ge-" nerally made the means of conquering their ene-" mies their fole application; that for his part, he had " passed much time in the academy, in learning to " fubdue anger, envy, and all the jarring passions of " of the mind: That the fign of having conquered them is not kindness and affability to friends and of persons of merit; but treating those with huma-" nity who have injured us, and in being always rea-" dy to forgive them: That he did not defire fo "much to appear superior to Heraclides in power and 66 ability,

ability as in wisdom and justice; for in that, true and essential superiority consists. That if Heraclides be wicked, invidious, and perfidious, must Dion contaminate and dishonour himself with low refentment? It is true, according to human laws, there feems to be less injustice in revenging an iniury, than committing it; but if we consult nature, we shall find both the one and the other to have their rife in the same weakness of mind. Be-" fides, there is no disposition so obdurate and savage, but may be vanquished by the force of kind usage " and obligations." Dion upon these maxims pardoned Heraclides.

His next application was to inclose the citadel with a new work, and he ordered each of the Syracufans to go out and cut a large stake. In the night, he fet his foldiers to work, whilft the Syracufans took their rest. He surrounded the citadel in this manner with a strong palisade, before it was perceived; so that in the morning, the greatness of the work, and the suddenness of the execution, were matter of admiration for all the world, as well the enemy, as the

citizens.

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Having finished this palisade, he buried the dead; and dismissing the prisoners taken from the enemy, he furnmoned an affembly. Heraclides proposed in it, that Dion should be elected generalissimo with supreme authority by fea and land. All the people of worth, and the most considerable of the citizens were pleafed with the proposal, and defired it might have the authority of the affembly. But the mariners and artifans, who were forry that Heraclides should lose the office of admiral; and convinced, that although he were little estimable in all other respects, he would at least be more for the people than Dion, they opposed it with all their power. Dion, to avoid disturbance and confusion, did not insist upon that point, and acquiesced that Heraclides should continue to command in chief at fea. But his opposing the di-Aribution

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diffribution of lands and houses, which they were earnest for having take place, and his cancelling and annulling whatever had been decreed upon that head, embroiled him with them irretrievably.

Heraclides, taking advantage of a disposition so favourable to his views, did not fail to revive his cabals and intrigues; as appeared openly by an attempt of his to make himself master of Syracuse, and to shut the gates upon his rival: But it proved unfuccessful. A Spartan, who had been fent to the aid of Syracuse, negotiated a new accommodation between Heraclides and Dion, under the strictest oaths. and the strongest assurances of obedience on the side of the former; weak ties to a man void of faith and

probity.

The Syracufans having dismissed their sea-forces who were become unnecessary, applied folely to the fiege of the citadel, and rebuilt the wall which had been thrown down. As no relief came to the besieged. and bread began to fall short with them, the foldiers grew mutinous, and would observe no discipline. The fon of Dionysius, finding himself without hope or resource, capitulated with Dion to surrender the citadel. with all the arms and munitions of war. He carried his mother and fifters away with him, filled five gallies with his people and effects, and went to his father; for Dion gave him entire liberty to retire unmolested. It is easy to conceive the joy of the city upon his departure. Women, children, old people, all were paffionately fond of gratifying their eyes from the port with fo agreeable a spectacle, and to solemnize the joyful day, on which, after so many years servitude, the fun arose for the first time upon the Syracusan liberty.

Apollocrates having fet fail, and Dion begun his march to enter the citadel, the princesses, who were there, did not stay till he arrived, but came out to meet him at the gates. Aristomache led the son of Dion; after whom came Arete, his wife, with her Vol. V. K e;es

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eyes fixed upon the ground, and full of tears. Dion embraced his fifter first, and afterwards his son. Aristomache, then presenting Arete to him, spoke thus, "The tears you fee her shed, the shame expressed in her looks, at the time your presence restores us life and joy, her filence itself, and her confusion sufficiently denote the grief she suffers at the fight of an husband, to whom another has been substituted " contrary to her will, but who alone has always of possessed her heart. Shall she salute you as her " uncle, shall she embrace you as her husband?" Aristomache having spoke in this manner, Dion with his face bathed in tears, tenderly embraced his wife; to whom he gave his fon, and fent them home to his house; because he thought proper to leave the citadel to the discretion of the Syracusans, as an evidence of

their liberty.

For himself, after having rewarded with a magnificence truly royal all those who had contributed to his fuccess, according to their rank and merit, at the height of glory and happiness, and the object, not only of Sicily, but of Carthage and all Greece, who efleemed him the wifest and most fortunate captain that ever lived, he constantly retained his original simplicity; as modest and plain in his garb, equipage, and table, as if he had lived in the academy with Plato, and not with people bred in armies, with officers and foldiers, who often breath nothing but pleasures and magnificence. Accordingly, at the time Plato wrote him, that the eyes of all mankind were upon him alone; little affected with that general admiration, his thoughts were always intent upon the academy, that school of wisdom and virtue, where exploits and successes were not judged from the external splendor and noise, with which they are attended, but from the wife and moderate use of them.

Dion designed to establish a form of government in Syracuse, composed of the Spartan and Cretan, but wherein the Aristocratical was always to prevail, and

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(z) Plut.

to decide important affairs by the authority, which, ac cording to his plan, was to be vested in a council of elders. Heraclides again opposed him in this scheme. fill turbulent and feditious according to custom, and folely intent upon gaining the people by flattery, caresses, and other popular arts. One day, when Dion fent for him to the council, he answered that he would not come; and that, being only a private person, he should be in the affembly with the rest of the citizens. whenever it was fummoned. His view, in fuch behaviour, was to make his court to the people, and to render Dion odious; who, weary of his repeated infults, permitted those to kill him, he had formerly prevented. They accordingly went to his house and We shall see presently Dion's own dispatched him. sense of this action.

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The Syracusans were highly afflicted for his death; but as Dion solemnized his funeral with great magnificence, followed his body in person at the head of his whole army, and afterwards harangued the people upon the occasion, they were appeased, and sorgave him the murder; convinced, that it was impossible for the city ever to be free from commotions and sedition, whilst Heraclides and Dion governed together.

(z) After that murder Dion never knew joy, or peace of mind. An hideous spectre, which he saw in the night, filled him with trouble, terror, and melancholy. The fantom seemed a woman of enormous stature, who, in her attire, air, and haggard looks, resembled a sury sweeping his house with violence, His son's death, who for some unknown grief, had thrown himself from the roof of an house, passed for the accomplishment of that ominous apparition, and was the prelude to his missfortunes. Callippus gave the last hand to them. He was an Athenian, with whom Dion had contracted an intimate friendship, whilst he lodged in his house at Athens, and with whom he lived ever after with entire freedom and un-

⁽²⁾ Plut. p. 981, 983. Diod. p. 432.

bounded confidence. Callippus, having given himfelf up to his ambitious views, and entertained thoughts of making himself master of Syracuse, threw off all regard for the facred ties of friendship and hospitality, and contrived to get rid of Dion, who was the fole obstacle to his defigns. Notwithstanding his care to conceal them, they got air, and came to the ears of Dion's fifter and wife, who loft no time, and spared no pains to discover the truth by a very strict enquiry. To prevent its effects, he went to them with tears in his eyes, and the appearance of being inconfolable that any body should suspect him of such a crime, or think him capable of fo black a defign, They infifted upon his taking the great oath, as it was called. The person who swore it, was wrapt in the purple mantle of the goddess Proserpine, and holding a lighted torch in his hand, pronounced in the temple the most dreadful execrations against himself it is possible to imagine.

The oath cost him nothing, but did not convince the princesses. They daily received new intimations of his guilt from feveral hands, as did Dion himself, whose friends in general persuaded him to prevent Callippus's crime by a just and sudden punishment. he could never refolve upon it. The death of Heraclides, which he looked upon as an horrible blot in his reputation and virtue, was perpetually prefent to his troubled imagination, and renewed by continual terrers his grief and repentance. Tormented night and day by that cruel remembrance, he professed that he had rather die a thousand deaths, and present his throat himself to whoever would kill him, than to live under the necessity of continual precautions, not only against his enemies, but the best of his friends.

Callippus ill deserved that name. He hastened the execution of his crime, and caused Dion to be assaffinated in his own house by the Zacynthian foldiers, who were entirely devoted to his interest. The fifter and wife of that prince were put into prison, where the

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(a) After this murder, Callippus was for fome time in a splendid condition, having made himself master of Syracuse by the means of the troops, who were entirely devoted to his service in effect of the gifts he bestowed upon them. The Pagans believed, that the divinity ought to punish great crimes in a sudden and extraordinary manner in this life: And Plutarch obferves, that the fuccess of Callippus occasioned very great complaints against the gods, as suffering calmly, and without indignation the vilest of men to raise himself to so exalted a fortune by so detestable and impious a method. But providence was not long without justifying itself, for Callippus soon suffered the punishment of his guilt. Having marched with his troops to take Catanea, Syracuse revolted against him, and threw off so shameful a subjection. He afterwards attacked Messina, where he lost abundance of men, and particularly the Zacynthian foldiers, who had murdered Dion. No city of Sicily would receive him, but all detesting him as the most execrable of wretches, he retired to Rhegium, where, after having led for fome time a miserable life, he was killed by Leptinus and Polyperchon, and it was faid, with the same dagger with which Dion had been affaffinated.

History has sew examples of so distinct an attention of providence to punish great crimes, such as murder, persidy, treason, either in the authors of those crimes themselves, who commanded or executed them, or in the accomplices any way concerned in them. The divine justice evidences itself from time to time in this manner, to prove that it is not unconcerned and inattentive; and to prevent the inundation of crimes, which an entire impunity would occasion; but it does not always distinguish itself by remarkable chastisements in this world, to intimate to mankind,

⁽a) A. M. 3646. Ant. J. C. 358.

that greater punishments are reserved for guilt in the next.

As for Aristomache and Arete, as soon as they came out of prison, Icetes of Syracuse, one of Dion's friends, received them into his house, and treated them at first with an attention, fidelity, and generosity of the most exemplary kind had he persevered. But complying at last with Dion's enemies, he provided a bark for them, and having put them on board, under the pretence of sending them to Peloponnesus, he gave orders to those who were to carry them, to kill them in the passage, and to throw them into the sea. He was not long without receiving the chastisement due to his black treachery; for being taken by Timoleon, he was put to death. The Syracusans, fully to avenge Dion, killed also the two sons of that traitor.

(b) The relations and friends of Dion, foon after his death, had wrote to Plato, to confult him upon the manner in which they should behave in the present troubled and fluctuating condition of Syracuse, and to know what fort of government it was proper to establish there. Plato, who knew the Syracusans were equally incapable of entire liberty, or absolute servitude, exhorted them strenuously to pacify all things as foon as possible, and for that purpose, to change the tyranny, of which the very name was odious, into a lawful fovereignty, which would make subjection easy and agreeable. He advised them, (and according to him, it had been Dion's opinion) to create three kings; one to be Hipparinus Dion's fon, another Hipparinus Dionysius the younger's brother, who feemed to be well inclined towards the people, and Dionyfius himself, if he would comply with such conditions as should be prescribed him; their authority to be not unlike that of the kings of Sparta. By the fame scheme, thirty five magistrates were to be appointed, to take care that the laws should be duly ob-

(b) Plat. Ep. 8.

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ferved, to have great authority both in times of war and peace, and to ferve as a ballance between the power of the kings, the fenate, and the people.

It does not appear, that this advice was ever followed, which indeed had its great inconveniences. (c) It is only known, that Hipparinus, Dionysius's brother, having landed at Syracuse with a sleet, and considerable forces, expelled Callippus, and exercised the sovereign power two years.

The history of Sicily, as related thus far, includes about fifty years, beginning with Dionysius the elder, who reigned thirty eight of them, and continuing to the death of Dion. I shall return in the sequel to the affairs of Sicily, and shall relate the end of Dionysius the younger, and the re-establishment of the Syracufan liberty by Timoleon.

SECT. IV .. Character of Dion.

I T is not easy to find so many excellent qualities in one and the same person as were united in Dion. I do not consider in this place, his wonderful taste for the sciences, his art of affociating them with the greatest employments of war and peace, of extracting from them the rules of conduct and maxims of government, and of making them an equally useful and honourable entertainment of his leifure: I confine myfelf to the statesman and patriot, and in this view, how admirably does he appear! Greatness of soul, elevation of fentiments, generofity in bestowing his wealth, heroic valour in battle, attended with a coolness of temper and a prudence scarce to be parallelled, a mind vast and capable of the highest views, a constancy not to be shaken by the greatest dangers, or the most unexpected revolutions of fortune, the love of his country and of the public good carried almost to excess: These are part of Dion's virtues. The defign he formed of delivering his country from the

⁽c) Diod. l. 16. p. 436.

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yoke of the tyranny, and his boldness and wisdom in the execution of it, explain of what he was capable.

But what I conceive the greatest beauty in Dion's character, the most worthy of admiration, and, if I may fay fo, the most above human nature, is the greatness of foul, and unexampled patience, with which he fuffered the ingratitude of his country. He had abandoned and facrificed every thing to come to their relief; he had reduced the tyranny to extremities, and was upon the point of re-establishing them in the full possession of their liberty: In return for such great fervices, they shamefully expel him the city, accompanied with an handful of foreign foldiers, whose fidelity they had not been able to corrupt; they load him with injuries, and add to their base perfidy, the most cruel outrages and indignity: To punish those ungrateful traytors, he had only a fignal to give, and to leave the rest to the indignation of his soldiers: Master of theirs, as well as his own, temper, he stops their impetuofity, and without difarming their hands, restrains their just rage; suffering them, in the very height and ardor of an attack, only to terrify, and not kill, his enemies, because he could not forget that they were his fellow-citizens and brethren.

There feems to be only one defect that can be objected to Dion, which is, his having fomething rigid and auftere in his humour, that made him less accessible and sociable than he should have been, and kept even persons of worth and his best friends at a kind of distance. Plato, and those who had his glory sincerely at heart, had often animadverted upon this turn of mind in him: But notwithstanding the reproaches which were made him upon his too austere gravity, and the inflexible severity, with which he treated the people, he still piqued himself upon abating nothing of them: whether his genius was entirely averse to the arts of infinuation and persuasion; or that from the view of correcting and reforming the Syracusans, vitiated and corrupted by the slattering and complain

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Dion was mistaken in the most effential point of governing. From the throne to the lowest office in the state, whoever is charged with the care of ruling and conducting others, ought particularly to study the * art of managing men's tempers, and of giving them that bent and turn of mind that may best fuit his measures; which cannot be done by affuming the severe master, by commanding haughtily, and contenting one's-felf with laying down the rule and the duty with inflexible rigour. There is in the right itself, in virtue, and the exercise of all functions, an exactitude and steadiness, or rather a kind of stiffness, which frequently degenerates into a vice, when carried into extremes. I know it is never allowable to break through rules; but it is always laudable, and often necessary, to soften and make them more convertible; which is best effected by a kindness of manners, and an infinuating behaviour; not always exacting the discharge of a duty in its utmost rigour; over-looking abundance of small faults, that do not merit much notice, and observing upon those which are more confiderable, with favour and goodness; in a word, in endeavouring by all possible means to acquire people's affection, and to render virtue and duty amiable.

Dion's permission to kill Heraclides, which was obtained with difficulty, or rather forced from him contrary to his natural disposition as well as principles, cost him dear, and brought the trouble and anguish upon him, that lasted to the day of his death, and of which they were the principal cause.

^{*} Which art, an antient poet regina rerum oratio. Cic. l. 1. de called, flexanima, atque omnium divin. n. 80.

SECT. V. Dionysius the Younger re-ascends the throne.
Syracuse implores aid of the Corinthians, who send
Timoleon. That general enters Syracuse notwithstanding all the endeavours of Nicetas to prevent him.
Dionysius surrenders himself to him, and retires to
Corinth.

(d) CALLIPPUS, who had caused Dion to be murdered, and had substituted himself in his place, did not possess his power long. Thirteen months after, Hipparinus, Dionysius's brother, arriving unexpectedly at Syracuse with a numerous fleet, expelled him from the city, and recovered his paternal so-

vereignty, which he held during two years.

(e) Syracuse and all Sicily, being harrassed by different sactions and intestine war, were in a miserable condition. Dionysius, taking the advantage of those troubles, ten years after he had been obliged to quit the throne, had assembled some foreign troops, and having overcome Nypsæus, who had made himself master of Syracuse, he re-instated himself in the possession of his dominions.

(f) It was perhaps to thank the gods for his re-establishment, and to express his gratitude to them, that he sent statues of gold and ivory to Olympia and Delphos of very great value. The gallies which carried them were taken by Iphicrates, who was at that time near (g) Corcyra with a sleet. He wrote to Athens to know in what manner he should dispose of his facred booty, and was answered, not to examine scrupulously for what it was designed, but to make use of it for the subsistance of his troops. Dionysius complained excessively of such treatment to the Athenians, in a letter which he wrote them, wherein he reproached with great warmth and justice their avarice and sacrilegious impiety.

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(b) A commander of pirates had acted much more nobly and more religiously in regard to the Romans about fifty years before. After the taking of Veii, which had been ten years besieged, they sent a golden cup to Delphos. The deputies who carried that prefent were taken by the pirates of Lipara, and carried to that island. It was the * custom to divide all the The island at prizes they took as a common flock. that time was under the government of a magistrate more like the Romans in his manners than those he governed. He was called Timafitheus +, and his behaviour agreed well with the fignification of his name. Full of regard for the envoys, the facred gift they carried, the motive of their offering, and more for the majesty of the god for whom it was designed, he inspired the multitude, that generally follow the example of those who rule them, with the same sentiments of respect and religion. The envoys were received therefore with all the marks of distinction, and their expences born by the public. Timafitheus convoyed them with a good squadron to Delphos, and brought them back in the same manner to Rome. It is easy to judge how sensibly the Romans were asfected with so noble a proceeding. By a decree of the fenate they rewarded Timafitheus with great prefents, and granted him the right of hospitality. And fifty years after, when the Romans took Lipara from the Carthaginians with the fame gratitude as if the action had been but lately done, they thought themfelves obliged to do further honour to the family of

(b) Tit. Liv. Decad. 1. l. 5. c. 28. Diod. l. 14. p. 307.

* Mos erat civitatis, velut publico latrocinio partam prædam dividere. Fortè eo anno in fummo magistratu erat Timasitheus quidam, Romanis vir similior quam suis: qui legatorum nomen, donumque, et deum cui mitteretur, et doni causam veritus ipse, multitudinem quoque, quæ semper fermè regenti est similis, religionis justæ implevit; adductosque in publicum hospitium legatos, cum præsidio etiam navium Delphos prosecutus, Romam inde sospites restituit. Hospitium cum eo senatus-consulto est sactum, donaque publice data. Tit. Liv.

+ Timasitheus signisies one who

bonours the gods,

their benefactor, and resolved that all his descendants should be for ever exempted from the tribute imposed upon the other inhabitants of that island.

This was certainly great and noble on both fides: but the contrast does no honour to the Athenians.

To return to Dionysius, though he expressed some regard for the gods, his actions argued no humanity for his subjects. His past missortunes, instead of correcting and softening his disposition, had only served to inflame it, and to render him more savage and brutal than before.

(i) The most worthy and considerable of the citizens, not being able to support so cruel a servitude, had recourse to Icetas, king of the Leontines, and abandoning themselves to his conduct, elected him their general; not that they believed he differed in any thing from the most declared tyrants, but because

they had no other refource.

During these transactions, the Carthaginians, who were almost always at war with the Syracusans, arrived in Sicily with a great sleet, and having made a great progress there, the Sicilians and the people of Syracuse resolved to send an embassy into Greece, to demand aid of the Corinthians, from whom the Syracusans were descended, and who had always openly declared against tyrants in savour of liberty. Icetas, who proposed no other end from his command, than to make himself master of Syracuse, and had no thoughts of setting it free, treated secretly with the Carthaginians, though in public he affected to praise the wise measures of the Syracusans, and even sent his deputies along with theirs.

(k) Corinth received the ambaffadors perfectly well, and immediately appointed Timoleon their general. He had led a retired life for twenty years, without interfering in public affairs, and was far from believ-

(k) A. M. 3655. Ant. J. C. 349.

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⁽i) Diod. l. 16. p. 459 & 464. Plut. in Timol. p. 236 & 243.

ing, that at his age, and in the circumstances he then was, he should be thought on upon such an occasion.

He was descended from one of the noblest families of Corinth, loved his country passionately, and discovered upon all occasions a singular humanity of temper, except against tyrants, and bad men. He was an excellent captain, and as in his youth he had all the maturity of age, in age he had all the fire and

courage of the most ardent youth.

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He had an elder brother called Timophanes, whom he tenderly loved, as he had demonstrated in a battle, in which he covered him with his body, and saved his life at the great danger of his own; but his country was still dearer to him. That brother having made himself tyrant of it, so black a crime gave him the sharpest affliction. He made use of all possible means to bring him back to his duty: kindness, friendship, affection, remonstrances, and even menaces. But finding all his endeavours ineffectual, and that nothing could prevail upon an heart abandoned to ambition, he caused his brother to be affassinated in his presence by two of his friends and intimates, and thought, that upon such an occasion, the laws of nature ought to give place to those of his country.

That action was admired and applauded by the principal citizens of Corinth, and by most of the philosophers, who looked upon it as the most noble effort of human virtue; and Plutarch seems to pass the same judgment upon it. All the world were not of that opinion, and some people reproached him as an abominable parricide, who could not fail of drawing down the vengeance of the gods upon him. His mother especially, in the excess of her grief, uttered the most dreadful curses and imprecations against him; and when he came to console her, not being able to bear the sight of her son's murderer, she thrust him away with indignation, and shut her doors against

him.

He was then struck with all the horror of the most guilty,

guilty, and giving himself up to the cruellest remorfe, confidered Timophanes no longer as a tyrant, but as a brother, and refolved to put an end to his life, by abstaining from all nourishment. It was with great difficulty his friends diffuaded him from that fatal refolution. Overcome by their prayers and instances, he was at length prevailed upon to live; but he condemned himself to pass the rest of his days in solitude. From that moment he renounced all public affairs; and for feveral years never came to the city, but wandered about in the most folitary and defart places, abandoned to excefs of grief and melancholy: fo true it is, that neither the praises of flatterers, nor the false reasonings of politicians, can suppress the cries of confcience, which is at once the witness, judge, and executioner of those, who presume to violate the most facred rights and ties of nature!

He passed twenty years in this condition. He did indeed return to Corinth at the latter part of that time, but lived there always private and retired, without concerning himself with the administration of the government. It was not without great repugnance that he accepted the employment of general; but he did not think it allowable to refuse the service of his country, and his duty prevailed against his inclination.

country, and his duty prevailed against his inclination.

Whilst Timoleon assembled his troops, and was preparing to sail, the Corinthians received letters from scetas, in which he told them, "that it was not netectas, in which he told them, that it was not netectas, in which he told them, that it was not netectas, in which he told them, that it was not netectas, in which he told them, that it was not netectas, in which he told them, that the cellary for them felves to evident danger; that the Carthaginians, apprized of their design, were waiting to intercept their squadron in its passement of the said, and to make the cellar troops had obliged him to call in the cellar troops had obliged him to call in the cellar troops had obliged him to make the use of them against the tyrant." He had made a secret treaty with them, by which it was stipulated, that

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that after the expulsion of Dionysius from Syracuse,

he should take possession of it in his place.

The reading of these letters, far from cooling the zeal of the Corinthians, only incenfed them more than at first, and hastened the departure of Timoleon. He embarked on board ten gallies, and arrived fafe upon the coast of Italy, where the news that came from Sicily extremely perplexed him, and difcouraged his troops. It brought an account, that Icetas had defeated Dionysius, and having made himself mafter of the greatest part of Syracuse, had obliged the tyrant to thut himself up in the citadel, and in that quarter called the Isle, where he besieged him; and that he had given orders to the Carthaginians to prevent Timoleon's approach, and to come on shore, that they might make a peaceable partition of Sicily between them, when they should have reduced that general to retire.

The Carthaginians in consequence had sent twenty gallies to Rhegium. The Corinthians, upon their arrival at that port, found ambassadors from Icetas, who declared to Timoleon, that he might come to Syracuse, and would be well received there, provided he dismissed his troops. The proposal was entirely injurious, and at the same time more perplexing. It seemed impossible to beat the vessels, which the Barbarians had caused to advance to intercept them in their passage, being twice their force; and to retire, was to abandon all Sicily to extreme distress, which could not avoid being the reward of Icetas's treachery, and of the support which the Carthaginians should

give the tyranny.

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In this delicate conjuncture, Timoleon demanded a conference with the ambassadors, and the principal officers of the Carthaginian squadron, in the presence of the people of Rhegium. It was only, he said, to discharge himself, and for his own security, that his country might not accuse him of having disobeyed its orders, and betrayed its interests. The governor and

magistrates

magistrates of Rhegium were of intelligence with him. They defired nothing more than to see the Corinthians in possession of Sicily, and apprehended nothing so much as the neighbourhood of the Barbarians. They summoned therefore an assembly, and shut the gates of the city, upon pretence of preventing the citizens from going abroad, in order to their applying

themselves solely to the present affair.

The people being affembled, long speeches were made of little or no tendency, every body treating the fame subject, and repeating the same reasons, or adding new ones, only to protract the council, and to gain time. Whilft this was doing, nine of the Corinthian gallies went off, and were fuffered to pass by the Carthaginian vessels, believing that their departure had been concerted with their own officers, who were in the city, and that those nine gallies were to return to Corinth, the tenth remaining to carry Timoleon to Icetas's army at Syracuse. When Timoleon was informed in a whifper, that his gallies were at fea, he flipt gently through the crowd, which, to favour his going off, thronged exceedingly around the He got to the sea side, embarked directly, and having re-joined his gallies, they arrived together at Tauromenium, a city of Sicily, where they were received with open arms by Andromachus, who commanded it, and who joined his citizens with the Corinthian troops, to re-instate the Sicilian liberties.

It is easy to comprehend how much the Carthaginians were surprized and ashamed of being so deceived: But, as some body told them, being Phœnicians (who passed for the greatest cheats in the world) fraud and artisce ought not to give them so much assonish-

ment and displeasure.

Upon the news of Timoleon's arrival, Icetas was terrified, and made the greatest part of the Carthaginian gallies advance. They had an hundred and fifty long thips, fifty thousand soot, and three hundred armed chariots. The Syracusans lost all hope when they

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faw the Carthaginians in possession of the port, Icetas master of the city, Dionysius blocked up in the citadel, and Timoleon without any other hold in Sicily than by a nook of its coast, the small city of Tauromenium, with little hope and less force; for his troops did not amount in all to more than a thousand soldiers, and he had scarce provisions for their subsistance. which the cities placed no confidence in him. ills they had fuffered from the extortion and cruelty, that had been practifed amongst them, had exasperated them against all commanders of troops, especially after the horrid treachery of Callippus and Pharax; who being both fent, the one from Athens, and the other from Sparta, to free Sicily and expel the tyrants, made them conceive the tyranny gentle and defirable, fo fevere were the vexations, with which they had They were afraid of experiencing oppressed them. the same treatment from Timoleon.

The inhabitants of Adranon, a small city below. mount Ætna, being divided amongst themselves, one party had called in Icetas and the Carthaginians, and the other had applied to Timoleon. The two chiefs arrived almost at the same time in the neighbourhood of Adranon; the former with five thousand men, and the latter with only twelve hundred. Notwithstanding this inequality, Timoleon, who justly conceived that he should find the Carthaginians in diforder, and employed in taking up their quarters, and pitching their tents, made his troops advance, and without losing time to rest them, as the officers advifed him, he marched directly to charge the enemy, who no fooner faw him, than they took to their heels. This occasioned their killing only three hundred, and taking twice as many prisoners; but the Carthaginians lost their camp, and all their baggage. The Adranites opened their gates at the fame time, and received Timoleon. Other cities fent their deputies to him foon after, and made their submission.

Dionyfius himfelf, who renounced his vain hopes,

and faw himself at the point of being reduced, as full of contempt for Icetas, who had fuffered himself to be so shamefully defeated, as of admiration and esteem for Timoleon, fent ambassadors to the latter, to treat of furrendering himfelf and the citadel to the Corinthians. Timoleon, taking the advantage of so unexpected a good fortune, made Euclid and Telemachus, with four hundred foldiers, file off into the castle; not all at once, nor in the day time; that being impossible, the Carthaginians being masters of the gate, but in platoons, and by stealth. Those troops, having got successfully into the citadel, took possession of it with all the tyrant's moveables, and provisions of war. For he had a confiderable number of horse, all forts of engines and darts, befides feventy thousand fuits of armour, which had been laid up there long before. Dionysius had also two thousand regular troops, which with the rest he surrendered to Timoleon. And for himself, taking with him his money, and some few of his friends, he embarked unperceived by the troops of Icetas, and repaired to the camp of Timoleon nesoni!

It was the first time of his life that he had appeared in the low and abject state of a private person, and a suppliant; he who had been born and nurtured in the arms of the tyranny, and had feen himfelf mafter of the most powerful kingdom that had ever been ufurped by tyrants. He had possessed it ten years entire, before Dion took arms against him, and some years after, though always in the midft of wars and battles. (1) He was fent to Corinth with only one galley without convoy, and with very little money. He ferved there for a fight, every body running to gaze at him; fome with a fecret joy of heart to feed their eyes with the view of the miseries of a man, whom the name of tyrant rendered odious; others with a kind of compassion, from comparing the splendid condition, from which he had fallen, with the inextri-

(1) A. M. 3657. Ant. J. C. 347.

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His manner of life at Corinth did not long excite any fentiments in regard to him, but those of contempt and indignation. He passed whole days in persumers shops, in taverns, or with actreffes and fingers, difputing with them upon the rules of music, and the harmony of airs. Some people have thought, that he behaved in such a manner out of policy, not to give umbrage to the Corinthians, nor to discover any thought or defire of recovering his dominions. But fuch an opinion does him too much honour, and it feems more probable, that nurtured and educated as he was in drunkenness and debauchery, he only followed his inclination, and that he paffed his life in the kind of flavery into which he was fallen as he had done upon the throne, having no other resource or consolation in his misfortunes.

(m) Some writers fay, that the extreme poverty to which he was reduced at Corinth, obliged him to open a school there, and to teach children to read; perhaps, fays * Cicero without doubt jeftingly, to retain a species of empire, and not absolutely to renounce the habit and pleasure of commanding. (n) Whether that were his motive or not, it is certain that Dionysius, who had feen himself mafter of Syracuse, and of almost all Sicily, who had possessed immense riches, and had numerous fleets and great armies of horse and foot under his command; that the fame + Dionysius reduced now almost to beggary, and from a king become a schoolmaster, was a good lesson for persons of exalted stations not to confide in their grandeur, nor to rely too much upon their fortune. cedæmonians some time after gave Philip this admonition. (0) That prince, having wrote to them in very

(n) Val. Max. 1. 6.

⁽m) Cic. Tusc. Quæst. l. 3. n. 27.

^{*} Dionysius Corinthi pueros docebat, usque adeo imperio carere non poterat.

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haughty and menacing terms, they made him no o-

ther answer, but Dionysius at Corinth.

An expression of Dionysius, which has been preferved, seems to argue, if it be true, that he knew how to make a good use of his adversity, and to turn his missortunes to his advantage; which would be very much to his praise, but contrary to what has been related of him before. (p) Whilst he lived at Corinth, a stranger rallied him unseasonably, and with an indecent grossness, upon his commerce with the philosophers during his most splendid fortune, and asked him by way of insult, Of what consequence all the wisdom of Plato had been to him. Can you believe then, replied he, that I have received no benefit from Plato, and see me bear ill fortune as I do?

SECT. VI. Timoleon, after several victories, restores liberty to Syracuse, where he institutes wise laws. He quits his authority, and passes the rest of his life in retirement. His death. Honours paid to his memory.

(q) AFTER the retreat of Dionysius, Icetas press'd the siege of the citadel of Syracuse with the utmost vigour, and kept it so closely blocked up, that the convoys sent to the Corinthians could not enter it without great difficulty. Timoleon, who was at Catana, sent them frequently thither. To deprive them of this relief, Icetas and Mago set out together with design to besiege that place. During their absence, Leon the Corinthian, who commanded in the citadel, having observed from the ramparts, that those who had been lest to continue the siege, were very remiss in their duty, he made a sudden surious sally upon them, whilst they were dispersed, killed part of them, put the rest to slight, and seized the quarter of the city called Achradina, which was the strongest part of it, and had been least injured by the enemy.

⁽p) Plut. in Timol. p. 243. (q) A. M. 3658. Ant. J. C. 346. Plut. in Timol. p. 243.—248. Dicd. l. 16. p. 465 & 474. Leon

Leon fortified it in the best manner the time would admit, and joined it to the citadel by works of communication.

This bad news caused Mago and Icetas to return immediately. At the fame time a body of troops from Corinth landed fafe in Sicily, having deceived the vigilance of the Carthaginian squadron posted to intercept them. When they were landed, Timoleon received them with joy, and after having taken poffeffion of Messina, marched in battle array against Syracuse. His army confisted of only four thousand men. When he approached the city, his first care was to fend emissaries amongst the soldiers that bore arms They represented to them, that it was highly shameful for Greeks, as they were, to labour that Syracuse and all Sicily should be given up to the Carthaginians, the wickedest and most cruel of all Barbarians. That Icetas had only to join Timoleon, and to act in concert with him against the common enemy. Those foldiers, having spread these infinuations throughout the whole camp, gave Mago violent fuspicions of his being betrayed; besides which, he had already for some time sought a pretext to retire. For these reasons, notwithstanding the intreaties and warm remonstrances of Icetas, he weighed anchor, and fet fail for Africa, shamefully abandoning the conquest of Sicily.

Timoleon's army the next day appeared before the place in line of battle, and attacked it in three different quarters with fo much vigour and fuccefs, that Icetas's troops were univerfally overthrown, and put to flight. Thus by a good fortune that has few examples, he carried Syracuse by force in an instant, which was at that time one of the strongest cities in the world. When he had made himself master of it, he did not act like Dion, in sparing the forts and public edifices for their beauty and magnificence. To avoid giving the same cause of suspicion, which at first decry'd though without foundation, and at length

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ruined, that great man, he caused proclamation to be made by found of trumpet, that all Syracufans who would come with their tools might employ themfelves in demolishing the forts of the tyrants. In confequence of which, the Syracusans considering that proclamation and day as the commencement of their liberty, ran in multitudes to the citadel, which they not only demolished, but the palaces of the tyrants; breaking open their tombs at the same time, which they also threw down and destroyed.

The citadel being razed, and the ground made level, Timoleon caused tribunals to be erected upon it, for the dispensation of justice in the name of the people; that the fame place, from whence, under the tyrants, every day some bloody edict had issued, might become the afylum and bulwark of liberty and inno-

cence.

. William

Timoleon was master of the city; but it wanted people to inhabit it: For some having perished in the wars and feditions, and others being fled to avoid the power of the tyrants, Syracuse was become a defart, and the grass was grown so high in the streets, that horses grazed in them. All the cities of Sicily Timoleon and were almost in the same condition. the Syracusans therefore found it necessary to write to Corinth, to defire that people might be fent from Greece to inhabit Syracuse; that otherwise the country could never recover itself, and was besides threatened with a new war. For they had received advice, that Mago having killed himself, the Carthaginians, enraged at his having acquitted himself so ill of his charge, had hung up his body upon a crofs, and were making great levies to return into Sicily with a more numerous army than at the beginning of the year.

Those letters being arrived with ambassadors from Syracuse, who conjured the Corinthians to take compassion of their city, and to be a second time the sounders of it, the Corinthians did not confider the calamity of that people as an occasion of aggrandizing themthem city, polic and t to be havin led t the S fhoul. them just o the fa into had r fible comn

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themselves, and of making themselves masters of the city, according to the maxims of a base and infamous policy, but fending to all the facred games of Greece. and to all public affemblies, they caufed proclamation to be made in them by heralds, that the Corinthians having abolished the tyranny of Syracuse, and expelled the tyrants, they declared free and independant the Syracufans, and all the people of Sicily who should return into their own country, and exhorted them to repair thither, to partake of an equal and just distribution of the lands amongst them. At the same time they dispatched couriers into Asia, and into all the isles, whither great numbers of fugitives had retired, to invite them to come as foon as poffible to Corinth, which would provide them veffels, commanders, and a fafe convoy to transport them into their country at its own expences.

Upon this publication Corinth received universal praises and bleffings, as it justly deserved. It was every where proclaimed, that Corinth had delivered Syracuse from the tyrants, had preserved it from falling into the hands of the Barbarians, and restored it to its citizens. It is not necessary to insist here upon the grandeur of so noble and generous an action: the mere relation of it must make the impression that always results from the great and noble, and every body owned, that never conquest or triumph equalled the glory which the Corinthians then acquired by so perfect and magnanimous a difinterestedness.

Those who came to Corinth, not being sufficiently numerous, demanded an addition of inhabitants from that city and from all Greece to augment this kind of colony. Having obtained their request, and finding themselves increased to ten thousand, they embarked for Syracuse, where a multitude of people from all parts of Italy and Sicily had joined Timoleon. It was said their number amounted to sixty thousand and upwards. Timoleon distributed the lands amongst them gratis; but sold them the houses,

with which he raised a very great sum; leaving it to the discretion of the old inhabitants to redeem their own; and by this means he collected a considerable fund for such of the people as were poor, and unable to support either their own necessities or the charges of the war.

The statues of the tyrants, and of all the princes who had governed Sicily, were put up to sale; but first they were cited, and sentenced in the forms of law. One only escaped the rigour of this enquiry, and was preserved; which was Gelon, who had gained a celebrated victory over the Carthaginians at Himera, and governed the people with lenity and justice; for which his memory was still cherished and honoured. If the same scrutiny were made into all statues, I do not know whether many would continue in being.

(r) History has preserved another sentence passed alfo in regard to a statue, but of a very different kind, The fact is curious, and will excuse a digression. Nicon, a champion of * Thasos, had been crowned fourteen hundred times victor in the folemn games of Greece. A man of that merit could not fail of being envied. After his death, one of his competitors infulted his statue, and gave it several blows; to revenge perhaps those he had formerly received from him it represented. But the statue, as if sensible of that outrage, fell from its height upon the person that infulted it, and killed him. The fon of him who had been crushed to death, proceeded juridically against the statue, as guilty of homicide, and punishable by the law of Draco. That famous legislator of Athens, to inspire a greater horror for the guilt of murder, had ordained that even the inanimate things should be destroyed, which should occasion the death of a man by their fall. The Thasians, conformably to this law, decreed that the statue should be thrown into the fea. But some years after, being afflicte oracl the f

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⁽r) Suidas in Nixw. Paufan, l. 6. p. 364.

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flicted with a great famine, and having confulted the oracle of Delphos, they caused it to be taken out of the sea, and rendered new honours to it.

Syracuse being raised in a manner from the grave, and people slocking from all parts to inhabit it, Timoleon, desirous of freeing the other cities of Sicily, and finally to extirpate tyranny and tyrants out of it, began his march with his army. He compelled Icetas to renounce his alliance with the Carthaginians, obliged him to demolish his forts, and to live as a private person in the city of the Leontines. Leptinus, tyrant of Apollonia, and of several other cities and fortresses, seeing himself in danger of being taken by force, surrendered himself. Timoleon spared his life, and sent him to Corinth. For he thought nothing more great and honourable, than to let all Greece see the tyrants of Sicily in a state of humiliation, and living like exiles.

He returned afterwards to Syracuse, to regulate the government, and to institute such laws as should be most important and necessary, in conjunction with Cephalus and Dionysius, two legislators sent to him by the Corinthians: for he had not the weakness to desire unlimited power, and sole administration. But on his departure, that the troops in his pay might get something for themselves, and to keep them in exercise at the same time, he sent them under the command of Dinarchus and Demaratus, into all the places subject to the Carthaginians. Those troops brought over several cities from the Barbarians, lived always in abundance, made much booty, and returned with considerable sums of money, which was of great service in the support of the war.

(s) About this time, the Carthaginians arrived at Lilybæum, under Asdrubal and Amilcar, with an army of seventy thousand men, two hundred ships of war, a thousand transports laden with machines, armed chariots, horses, ammunition, and provisions. They

⁽s) Plut. in Timol, p. 248 & 255.

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proposed no less than the entire expulsion of the Greeks out of Sicily. Timoleon did not think fit to wait their advancing, and though he could raise only fix or feven thousand men, so great was the people's terror, he marched with that small body of troops against the formidable army of the enemy, and obtained a celebrated victory near the river Crimefus; an account of which may be found in the history of the Carthaginians (t). Timoleon returned to Syracuse amidst

shouts of joy and universal applauses.

He had before effected the conquest and reduction of the Sicilian tyrants, but had not changed them, nor taken from them their tyrannical disposition. They united together, and formed a powerful league against him. Timoleon immediately took the field, and foon put a final end to their hopes. He made them all suffer the just punishment their revolt de-Icetas, amongst others, with his fon were put to death as tyrants and traitors. His wife and daughters, having been fent to Syracuse and presented to the people, were also sentenced to die, and executed accordingly. The people, without doubt, defigned to avenge Dion their first deliverer by that decree. For it was the fame Icetas, who had caused Arete, Dion's wife, his fifter Aristomache, and his fon an infant, to be thrown into the fea.

Virtue is feldom or never without envy. Two accufers fummoned Timoleon to answer for his conduct before the judges, and having affigned him a certain day for his appearance, demanded fureties of him. The people expressed great indignation against such a proceeding, and would have difpenfed with fo great 2 man's observing the usual formalities; which he strongly opposed, giving for his reason, that all he had undertaken had no other principle, than that the laws might have their due course. He was accused of malversation during his command of the army. Timoteon, without giving himfelf the trouble to refute thole

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calumnies, only replied, "that he thanked the gods, "who had heard his prayers, and that he at length "faw the Syracusans enjoy an entire liberty of saying every thing; a liberty absolutely unknown to
them under the tyrants, but which it was just to
confine within due bounds."

That great man had given Syracuse wise laws, had purged all Sicily of the tyrants which had fo long infested it, had re established peace and security univerfally, and supplied the cities ruined by the war with the means of re-inflating themselves. After such glorious actions which had acquired him an unbounded credit, he quitted his authority to live in retirement. The Syraculans had given him the best house in the city in gratitude for his great fervices, and another very fine and agreeable one in the country, where he generally resided with his wife and children, whom he had fent for from Corinth; for he did not return thither, and Syracuse was become his country. He had the wifdom in refigning every thing to abstract himself entirely also from envy, which never fails to attend exalted stations, and pays no respect to merit, however great and fubstantial. He shunned the rock. on which the greatest men, through an infatiate lust of honours and power, are often thipwrecked; that is by engaging to the end of their lives in new cares and troubles, of which age renders them incapable, and by choosing rather to fink under, than to lay down, the weight of them *.

Timoleon, who knew all the value of a † noble and glorious leisure, acted in a different manner. He passed the rest of his life as a private person, enjoying the grateful satisfaction of seeing so many cities, and such a numerous people indebted to him for their happiness and tranquillity. But he was always respected and consulted as the common oracle of Sicily. Neither treaty of peace, institution of law, division of

Malunt deficere quam definere. Quintil.

[†] Otium cum dignitate. Cic.

land, nor regulation of government feemed well done. if Timoleon had not been confulted, and put the last hand to it.

His age was tried with a very fensible affliction. which he supported with astonishing patience; it was the loss of fight. That accident, far from lessening him in the confideration and regard of the people, ferved only to augment them. The Syracufans did not content themselves with paying him frequent vifits, they conducted all strangers, both in town and country, to see their benefactor and deliverer. When they had any important affair to deliberate upon in the affembly of the people, they called him in to their affistance, who came thither in a chariot drawn by two horses, which croffed the public place to the theatre; and in that manner he was introduced into the affembly amidst the shouts and acclamations of joy of the whole people. After he had given his opinion, which was always religiously observed, his domestics re-conducted him cross the theatre, followed by all the citizens beyond the gates with continual shouts of joy and clapping of hands.

He had still greater honours paid to him after his death. Nothing was wanting that could add to the magnificence of the procession, which followed his bier, of which the tears that were shed, and the bleffings uttered, by every body in honour of his memory, were the noblest ornament. Those tears were neither the effect of custom and the formality of mourning, nor exacted by public decree, but flowed from a native fource, fincere affection, lively gratitude, and inconfolable forrow. A law was also made, that annually for the future upon the day of his death the music and gymnic games should be celebrated with horse-races in honour of him. But what was still more honourable for the memory of that great man, was the decree of the Syracufan people; that whenever Sicily should be engaged in a war with foreigners,

they should send to Corinth for a general.

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I do not know, that history has any thing more great and accomplished than what it says of Timoleon. I speak not only of his military exploits and the happy success of all his undertakings. Plutarch observes a characteristic in them, which distinguishes Timoleon from all the great men of his times, and makes use, upon that occasion, of a very remarkable comparison. There is, says he, in painting and poetry, pieces which are excellent in themselves, and which at the first view may be known to be the works of a master; but some of them denote their having cost abundance of pains and application; whereas in others an easy and native grace is feen, which adds exceedingly to their value, and amongst the latter, he places the poems of Homer. fomething of this fort occurs, when we compare the great actions of Epaminondas and Agefilaus with those of Timoleon. In the former, we find them executed with force and innumerable difficulties; but in the latter, there is an easiness and facility, which distinguish them as the work, not of fortune, but of virtue, which fortune feems to have taken pleasure in seconding. It is Plutarch who still speaks.

But not to mention his military actions; what I admire most in Timoleon, is his warm and disinterested passion for the public good, and his reserving only for himself the pleasure of seeing others happy by his services; his extreme remoteness from ambition and haughtiness; his honourable retirement into the country; his modesty, moderation, and indifference for the honours paid him; and what is still more uncommon, his aversion for all slattery, and even just praises. When * somebody extolled in his presence, his wisdom, valour, and glory in having expelled the tyrants, he made no answer, but that he thought him-

potissimum ducem esse voluissent. Nihil enim rerum humanarum sine deorum numine agi putabat. Cor. Nep. in Timol. c. 4.

dicari, nunquam aliud dixit, quam fe in ea re maximas diis gratias agere et habere, quod, cum Siciliam recreare constituissent, tum fe

felf obliged to express his gratitude to the gods, who having decreed to restore peace and liberty to Sicily, had vouchfaed to make choice of him in preference to all others for fo honourable a ministration: for he was fully perfuaded, that all human events are guided and disposed by the secret decrees of divine providence. What a treasure, what an happiness for a state, is fuch a minister!

For the better understanding his value, we have only to compare the condition of Syracuse under Timoleon, with its flate under the two Dionysius's. It is the fame city, inhabitants and people: but how different is it under the different governments we speak of! The two tyrants had no thoughts but of making themselves seared, and of depressing their subjects to render them more passive. They were terrible in effect, as they defired to be, but at the same time deteffed and abhorred, and had more to fear from their subjects, than their subjects from them. Timoleon on the contrary, who looked upon himself as the father of the Syracufan people, and who had no thoughts but of making them happy, enjoyed the refined pleafure of being beloved and revered as a parent by his children: and he was remembred amongst them with bleffings, because they could not reflect upon the peace and felicity they enjoyed, without calling to mind at the same time the wise legislator, to whom they were indebted for those inestimable blessings.

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CHAPTER I.

HIS book contains principally the history of two very illustrious generals of the Thebans, Epaminondas and Pelopidas, the deaths of Agesilaus king of Sparta, and of Artaxerxes Mnemon king of Persia.

SECT. I. State of Greece from the treaty of Antalcides. The Lacedæmonians declare war against the city of Olynthus. They seize by fraud and violence upon the citadel of Thebes. Olynthus surrenders.

(a) THE peace of Antalcides, of which mention has been made in the third chapter of the ninth book, had given the Grecian states great matter of discontent and division. In effect of that treaty, the Thebans had been obliged to abandon the cities of Bœotia, and to let them enjoy their liberty; and the Corinthians to withdraw their garrison from Argos, which by that means became free and independent. The Lacedæmonians, who were the authors and executors of this treaty, faw their power extremely augmented by it, and were industrious to make farther additions to it. They compelled the Mantinæans, against whom they pretended to have many causes of complaint in the last war, to demolish the walls of their city, and to inhabit four different places, as they had done before.

(b) The two kings of Sparta, Agesipolis and Agefilaus were of quite different characters, and as opposite in their opinions upon the present state of affairs.

⁽a) A. M. 3617. Ant. J. C. 387. Xenoph. hift. Græc. l. 5. P. 550, 553. (b) Diod. l. 15. p. 341.

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The first, who was naturally inclined to peace, and a strict observer of justice, was for having Sparta, already much exclaimed against for the treaty of Antalcides, suffer the Grecian cities to enjoy their liberties, according to the tenor of that treaty, and not disturb their tranquillity through an unjust desire of extending their dominions. The other on the contrary, restless, active, and sull of great views of ambition and con-

quest, breathed nothing but war.

(c) At the same time, deputies arrived at Sparta from Acanthus and Apollonia, two very confiderable cities of Macedonia, in respect to Olynthus a city of Thrace, inhabited by Greeks, originally of Chalcis in Eubœa. (d) Athens, after the victories of Salamin and Marathon, had conquered many places on the side of Thrace, and even in Thrace itself. Those cities threw off the yoke, as foon as Sparta, at the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war, had ruined the power of Athens. Olynthus was of this number. The deputies of Acanthus and Apollonia represented in the general affembly of the allies, that Olynthus, fituate in their neighbourhood, daily improved in strength in an extraordinary manner; that it perpetually extended its dominions by new conquests; that it obliged all the cities round about to submit to it, and to enter into its measures; and was upon the point of concluding an alliance with the Athenians and Thebans. The affair being taken into confideration, it was unanimously resolved, that it was necessary to declare war against the Olynthians. It was agreed, that the allied cities should furnish ten thousand troops, with liberty, to fuch as defired it, to substitute money, at the rate of three oboli (e) a day for each foot foldier, and four times as much for the horse. The Lacedæmonians, to lofe no time, made their troops march directly, under the command of Eudamidas, who prevailed with the Ephori, that Phæbidas,

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⁽e) A. M. 3621. Ant. J. C. 383. (d) Diod. 1, 15. p. 554, 556. (e) Five-pence.

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das, his brother, might have the leading of those which were to follow, and join him soon after. When he arrived in that part of Macedonia, which is also called Thrace, he garrisoned such places as applied to him for that purpose, seized upon Potidea, a city in alliance with the Olynthians, which surrendered without making any defence, and began the war against Olynthus, though slowly, as it was necessary for a general to act before his troops were all assembled.

(f) Phæbidas began his march soon after, and being arrived near Thebes, encamped without the walls near the Gymnasium or public place of exercise. Is so the Gymnasium or public place of exercise. Is menius and Leontides, both Polemarchs, that is, generals of the army, and supreme magistrates of Thebes, were at the head of two different factions. The first, who had engaged Pelopidas in his party, was no friend to the Lacedæmonians, nor they to him; because he publickly declared for popular government and liberty. The other on the contrary savoured an oligarchy, and was supported by the Lacedæmonians with their whole interest. I am obliged to enter into this detail, because the event I am going to relate, and which was a consequence of it, occasions the important war between the Thebans and Spartans.

This being the state of affairs at Thebes, Leontides applied to Phæbidas, and proposed to him to seize the citadel, called Cadmæa, to expel the adherents of Ismenius, and to give the Lacedæmonians possession of it. He represented to him, that nothing could be more glorious for him, than to make himself master of Thebes, whilst his brother was endeavouring to reduce Olynthus; that he would thereby facilitate the success of his brother's enterprize; and that the Thebans, who had prohibited their citizens by decree to bear arms against the Olynthians, would not fail, upon his making himself master of the citadel, to supply

⁽f) A. M. 3622. Ant. J. C. 382. Xenoph. p. 556-558. Plut. in Agefil. p. 608, 609. Id. in Pelop. p. 280. Diod. l. 15. p. 341, 342.

him with whatever number of horse and foot he should think proper, for the reinforcement of Eudamidas.

Phæbidas, who had much ambition and little conduct, and who had no other view than to fignalize himself by some extraordinary action, without examining the confequences, fuffered himself to be easily per-Whilst the Thebans, entirely secure under the treaty of peace lately concluded by the Grecian states, celebrated the feafts of Ceres, and expected nothing less than such an act of hostility, Phæbidas, conducted by Leontides, took possession of the citadel. The senate was then sitting. Leontides went to them, and declared, that there was nothing to be feared from the Lacedæmonians, who had entered the citadel; that they were only the enemies of those, who were for diffurbing the public tranquillity; that as for himself, by the power his office of Polemarch gave him of confining whoever caballed against the state, he should put Ismenius into a place of security, who factiously endeavoured to break the peace. He was feized accordingly, and carried to the citadel. party of Ismenius seeing their chief a prisoner, and apprehending the utmost violence for themselves, quitted the city with precipitation, and retired to Athens, to the number of four hundred and upwards. They were foon after banished by a public decree. pidas was of the number; but Epaminondas remained at Thebes unmolefted; being difregarded as a man entirely devoted to the study of philosophy, who did not intermeddle in affairs of flate; and also from his poverty, which left no room to fear any thing from him. A new Polemarch was nominated in the room of Ismenius, and Leontides went to Lacedæmon.

The news of Phæbidas's enterprize, who at a time of general peace had taken possession of a citadel by force, upon which he had no claim or right, had occasioned great murmurings and complaints. Such especially as opposed Agesilaus, who was suspected of having shared in the scheme, demanded by whose or-

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ders Phæbidas had committed fo strange a breach of public faith. Agefilaus, who well knew that those warm reproaches were aimed at him, made no difficulty of justifying Phæbidas, and declared openly, and before all the world, "That the action ought to be " considered in itself, in order to understand whether it were useful or not; that whatever was expedient for Sparta, he was not only permitted, but " commanded to act upon his own authority, and " without waiting the orders of any body." Strange principles to be advanced by a person, who upon other occasions had maintained, that justice was the supreme of virtues, and that without it, valour itself, and every other great quality, were useles and unavailing. It is the fame man that made answer, when fomebody in his presence magnified the king of Perfia's grandeur; He, whom you call the great king, in what is he greater than me, unless he be more just? A truly noble and admirable maxim, THAT JUS-TICE MUST BE THE RULE OF WHATEVER EX-CELS AND IS GREAT! But a maxim that he had only in his mouth, and which all his actions contradicted; conformable to the principle of the generality of politicians, who imagine, that a flatefinan ought always to have justice in his mouth, but never lose an occasion of violating it for the advantage of his country.

But let us now hear the sentence, which the august assembly of Sparta, so renowned for the wistern dom of its counsels and the equity of its decrees, is about to pronounce. The affair being maturely considered, the whole discussed at large, and the manner of it set in its sull light, the assembly resolved, that Phæbidas should be deprived of his command, and fined an hundred thousand drachma's (g); but that they should continue to hold the citadel, and keep a good garrison in it. What a strange contradiction was this, says Polybius (b), what

⁽g) About 2020 pound feerling.

⁽b) Lib. 4. p. 196.

a difregard of all justice and reason! to punish the criminal, and approve the crime; and not only to approve the crime tacitly, and without having any share in it, but to ratify it by the public authority, and continue it in the name of the state for the advantages arising from it! But this was not all; commissioners, appointed by all the cities in alliance with Sparta, were dispatched to the citadel of Thebes to try Ismenius, upon whom they passed sentence of death, which was immediately executed. Such slagrant injustice seldom remains unpunished. To act in such a manner, says Polybius again, is neither for one's

country's interest, nor one's own.

(i) Teleutias, Agefilaus's brother, had been substituted in the place of Phæbidas to command the rest of the troops of the allies defigned against Olynthus; whither he marched with all expedition. The city was strong, and furnished with every thing necessary to a good defence. Several fallies were made with good fuccess, in one of which Teleutias was killed. The next year king Agesipolis had the command of the army. The campaign passed in skirmishing; without any thing decifive. Agefipolis died foon after of a disease, and was succeeded by his brother Cleombrotus (k), who reigned nine years. About that time began the hundredth olympiad. Sparta made fresh efforts to terminate the war with the Olynthians. Polybidas their general press'd the siege with vigour. The place being in want of provisions, was at last obliged to furrender, and was received by the Spartans into the number of their allies.

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⁽i) Xenoph. l. 5. p. 559—565. Diod. l. 15. p. 342, 343.

SECT. II. Sparta's prosperity. Character of two illustrious Thebans, Epaminondas and Pelopidas. The latter forms the design of restoring the liberty of his country. Conspiracy against the tyrants wifely conducted, and happily executed. The citadel is retaken.

(1) THE fortune of the Lacedæmonians never appeared with great splendor, nor their power more strongly established. All Greece was subjected to them either by force or alliance. They were in possession of Thebes, a most powerful city, and with that, of all Boeotia. They had found means to humble Argos, and to hold it in dependance. Corinth was entirely at their devotion, and obeyed their orders in every thing. The Athenians, abandoned by their allies, and reduced almost to their own ftrength, were in no condition to make head against them. If any city, or people in their alliance, attempted to abstract themselves from their power, an immediate punishment reduced them to their former obedience, and terrified all others from following their example. Thus, masters by sea and land, all trembled before them; and the most formidable princes, as the king of Persia and the tyrant of Sicily, seemed to emulate each other in courting their friendship and alliance.

A prosperity, sounded in injustice, can be of no long duration. The greatest blows that were given the Spartan power, came from the quarter, where they had acted the highest injuries, and from whence they did not seem to have any thing to sear, that is to say, from Thebes. Two illustrious citizens of that state will make a glorious appearance upon the theatre of Greece, and for that reason deserve our notice in this place.

(m) These are Pelopidas and Epaminondas; both
(1) Xenoph. p. 565. Diod. p. 334. (m) Plut. in Pelop.

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descended from the noblest families of Thebes. Pelopidas, nurtured in the greatest affluence, and whilst young, fole heir of a very rich flourishing family. employed his wealth from the first possession of it in the relief of fuch as had occasion for it, and merited his favour; shewing in that wife use of his riches, that he was really their master, and not their slave. For according to Ariffotle's remark repeated by Plutarch, * most men either make no use at all of their fortunes out of avarice, or abuse them in bad or trifling expences. As for Epaminondas, poverty was all his inheritance, in which his honour, and one might almost fay his joy and delight, consisted. He was born of poor parents, and confequently familiarized from his infancy with poverty, which he made more grateful and eafy to him by his tafte for philo-Pelopidas, who supported a great number of citizens, never being able to prevail on him to accept his offers, and to make use of his fortune, resolved to share in the poverty of his friend by making him his example, and became the model as well as admiration of the whole city, from the modesty of his drefs, and the frugality of his table.

(n) If Epaminondas was poor as to the goods of fortune, those of the head and heart made him a most ample amends. Modest, prudent, grave, happy in improving occasions, possessing in a supreme degree the science of war, equally valiant and wife, easy and complaisant in the commerce of the world, suffering with incredible patience the people's, and even his friends, ill treatment, uniting with the ardor for military exercises a wonderful taste for study and the sciences, piquing himself especially so much upon truth and sincerity, that he made a scruple of telling a lie even in jest, or for diversion. Adea veritais diligens,

ut ne joco quidem mentiretur.

(n) Cor. Nep. in Epam. c. 3.

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Τῶν πολλών, οἱ μὲν ἐ χρῶνῖαι τῶ πλέτω λαμοικορογίαν,οἰ Τὰ παραχρῶνῖαι δι ἀσῶίαν.

(a) They were both equally inclined to virtue. But Pelopidas was best pleased with the exercises of the body, and Epaminondas with the cultivation of the mind. For which reason, they employed their leifure, the one in the palæstra and the chase, the other

in conversation and the study of philosophy.

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But what persons of sense and judgment must principally admire in them, and which is rarely found in their high rank, is the perfect union and friendship, that always subfifted between them during the whole time they were employed together in the administration of the public affairs, whether in war or peace. If we examine the government of Aristides and Themistocles, that of Cimon and Pericles, of Nicias and Alcibiades, we shall find them full of trouble, diffension, and debate. The two friends we speak of held the first offices in the state; all great affairs pasfed through their hands; every thing was confided to their care and authority. In fuch delicate conjunctures what occasions of pique and jealoufy generally arise? But neither difference of sentiment, diversity of interest, nor the least emotion of envy, ever altered their union and good understanding. The reafon of which was, their being founded upon an unalterable principle, that is, upon virtue; which in all their actions, fays Plutarch, occasioned their having neither glory nor riches, fatal fources of strife and division, in view, but folely the public good, and made them defire not the advancement or honour of their own families, but to render their country more powerful and flourishing. Such are the two illustrious men who are about to make their appearance, and to give a new face to the affairs of Greece, by the great events, in which they have a principal share.

(p) Leontides, being apprized that the exiles had retired to Athens, where they had been well received

⁽⁰⁾ Plut. in Pelop. p. 279. (p) A. M. 3626. Ant. J. C. 378. Xenoph. Hift. Gr. l. 5. p. 566—563. Plut. in Pelop. p. 280—284. Id. de Socrat. gen. p. 586—588, & 594—598. Dlod. l. 15. p. 344—346. Cor. Nep. in Pelop. c. 1—4.

by the people, and were in great esteem with all people of worth and honour, sent thither certain unknown persons to assassinate the most considerable of them. Only Androclides was killed, all the rest escaping the contrivances of Leontides.

At the same time, the Athenians received letters from Sparta, to prohibit their receiving or assisting the exiles, and with orders to expel them their city, as they were declared common enemies by all the allies. The humanity and virtue, peculiar and natural to the Athenians, made them reject so infamous a proposal with horror. They were transported with the occasion of expressing their gratitude to the Thebans for a previous obligation of the same nature. For the Thebans had contributed most to the re-establishment of the popular government at Athens, having declared in their savour by a public decree, contrary to the prohibition of Sparta; and it was from Thebes, Thrasybulus set out to deliver Athens from the tyranny of the Thirty.

Pelopidas, though at that time very young, went to all the exiles one after another, of whom Melon was the most considerable. He represented to them, That it was unworthy of honest men, to content 66 themselves with having faved their own lives, and so to look with indifference upon their country, en-66 flaved and miserable: That whatever good will the so people of Athens might express for them, it was not fit that they should suffer their fate to depend upon the decrees of a people, which their natural inconse stancy, and the malignity of orators that turned them any way at will, might foon alter: That it was 66 necessary to hazard every thing after the example of Thrasybulus, and to set before them his intrepid valour and generous fortitude as a model: That, as he fet out from Thebes to suppress and destroy the tyrants of Athens, fo they might go from A-" thens to restore Thebes its antient liberty."

This discourse made all the impression upon the ex-

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iles that could be expected. They fent privately to inform their friends at Thebes of their resolution, who extremely approved their design. Charon, one of the principal persons of the city, offered to receive the conspirators into his house. Philidas found means to get himself made secretary to Archidas and Philip. who were then Polemarchs or supreme magistrates of the city. As for Epaminondas, he had for some time diligently endeavoured to inspire the younger Thebans by his discourse with a passionate desire to throw off the Spartan yoke. (9) He was ignorant of nothing that had been projected, but he believed, that he ought not to have any share in it, because, as he faid, he could not resolve to imbrew his hands in the blood of his country; forefeeing that his friends would not keep within the due bounds of the enterprize, however lawful in itself, and that the tyrants would not perish alone; and convinced besides, that a citizen, who should not appear to have taken either party, would have it in his power to influence the people with better effect.

The day for the execution of the project being fixed, the exiles thought proper, that Pherenicus, with all the conspirators, should stop at Thriasium, a little town not far from Thebes, and that a small number of the youngest of them should venture into the city. Twelve persons of the best families of Thebes, all united by a strict and faithful friendship with each other, though competitors for glory and honour, offered themselves for this bold enterprize. Pelopidas was of this number. After having embraced their companions, and dispatched a messenger to Charon to give him notice of their coming, they fet out dreft in mean habits, carrying hounds with them, and poles in their hands for pitching of nets, that fuch as they met on the way might have no fuspicion of them, and take them only for hunters, that had wandered after their game.

(9) Plut. de gen. Socrat. p. 594.

Their messenger being arrived at Thebes, and having informed Charon, that they were fet out, the approach of danger did not alter his fentiments, and as he wanted neither courage nor honour, he prepared

his house for their reception.

One of the conspirators, who was no bad man. loved his country, and would have ferved the exiles with all his power, but had neither the refolution nor constancy necessary for such an enterprize, and could think of nothing but difficulties and obstacles, that presented themselves in crowds to his imagination: much disordered with the prospect of danger, this person retired into his house without faying any thing, and dispatched one of his friends to Melon and Pelopidas, to defire them to defer their enterprize, and return to Athens till a more favourable opportunity. Happily that friend, not finding his horse's bridle, and losing a great deal of time in quarrelling with his wife, was prevented from going.

Pelopidas and his companions, disguised like peafants, and having separated from each other, entered the city at different gates towards the close of day. It was then early in the winter, the North wind blew, and the fnow fell; which contributed to conceal them, every body keeping within doors upon account of the cold weather; befides which, it gave them an opportunity of covering their faces. Some, who were in the fecret, received and conducted them to Charon's house; where, of exiles and others, their whole num-

ber amounted to forty-eight.

Philidas, fecretary to the * Bœotarchs, who was in the plot, had sometime before invited Archias and his companions to supper, promising them an exquisite repast, and the company of some of the finest women in the city. The guests being met at the appointed time, they fate down to table. They had been free

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^{*} The magistrates and generals, who were charged with the govern- or governors of Beetia. ment of Thebes, were called Boeo-

with the glass, and were almost drunk, when it was whispered about, but not known where the report began, that the exiles were in the city. Philidas, without shewing any concern, did his utmost to change the discourse. Archias however sent one of his officers to Charon, with orders to come to him immediately. It was now late, and Pelopidas and the conspirators were preparing to fet out, and had put on their armour and fwords, when, on a fudden, they heard a knocking at the door. Some body went to it, and being told by the officer, that he was come from the magistrates with orders for Charon to attend them immediately; he ran to him half out of his wits to acquaint him with that terrible message. They all concluded, that the conspiracy was discovered, and believed themselves lost, before it would be possible to execute any thing worthy their cause and valour. However, they were all of opinion that Charon should obey the order, and prefent himself with an air of affurance to the magistrates, as void of fear, and unconfcious of offence.

Charon was a man of intrepid courage in dangers which threatned only himself; but at that time, terrified for his friends, and apprehending also, that he should be suspected of some treachery, if so many brave citizens, whom he had received into his house should be destroyed, he went to his wife's apartment, and fetched his only fon of fifteen years old at most, who in beauty and strength excelled all the youths of his age, and put him into the hands of Pelopidas, faying at the same time, " If you discover that I " have betrayed you, and have been guilty of trea-"chery upon this occasion, revenge yourselves on " me in this my only fon, whom, as dear as he is " to me, I abandon to you, and let him fall a vic-"tim without mercy to his father's perfidy."

These expressions wounded them to the heart; but what gave them the most sensible pain, was his imagining there was any one amongst them so mean and

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ungrateful to form to himself the least suspicion in regard to him. They conjured him unanimously not to leave his fon with them, but to put him into fome place of fafety; that his friends and country might not want an avenger, if he should be so fortunate to escape the tyrants. "No," replied the father, "he " shall stay with you, and share your fate. If he must perish, what nobler end can he make, than with his father and best friends? For you, my fon, exert yourfelf beyond your years, and shew a cou-4 rage, worthy of you and of me. You fee here the most excellent of the Thebans. Make under " fuch masters a noble essay of glory, and learn to fight, or if it must be so, to die like them, for 66 liberty. For the rest, I am not without hopes, for "I believe, that the justice of our cause will draw 66 down the favour and protection of the gods upon " us." He concluded with a prayer for them, and

after embracing the conspirators went out.

He took pains on his way to recover himself, and to compose his looks and voice, that he might not appear under any concern. When he came to the door of the house where the feast was kept, Archias and Philidas came out to him, and asked the meaning of a report, that disaffected people were arrived in the city, and were concealed in some house. He feemed aftonished, and finding by their answers to his questions, that they had no precise information of any thing, he assumed a bolder tone, and said; "It is " very likely the report you speak of is only a false " alarm intended to interrupt your mirth: However, as it ought not to be neglected, I'll go immediate-" ly and make the strictest enquiry possible into it." Philidas praised his prudence and zeal; and carrying Archias back into the company, he plunged him again in the debauch, and continued the entertainment, by keeping the guests in perpetual expectation of the women he had promifed them.

Charon, on his return home, found his friends all

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imn Sri+ prepared, not to conquer or to fave their lives, but to die gloriously, and to sell themselves as dear as they could. The serenity and joy of his looks explained beforehand, that they had nothing to sear. He repeated all that had pass'd; after which, they had no thoughts but of the instant execution of a design, to which the least delay might occasion a thousand obstacles.

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In effect, at that very instant, happened a second storm, far more violent than the first, and which feemed as if it could not possibly fail of making the enterprize miscarry. A courier from Athens arrived in great hafte with a packet, which contained a circumstantial account of the whole conspiracy, as was afterwards discovered. That courier was brought first to Archias, who was far gone in wine, and breathed nothing but pleasure and the bottle. In giving him his dispatches, he said, " My lord, the person who "writes you these letters, conjures you to read them " immediately, being ferious affairs." Archias replied laughing, * Serious affairs to morrow, which words were afterwards used by the Greeks as a proverb; and taking the letters, he put them under + his pillow, and continued the conversation and debauch.

The conspirators were at that time in the streets, divided into two parties; the one, with Pelopidas at their head, marched against Leontides, who was not at the feast; the other against Archias, under the command of Charon. These had put on women's habits over their armour, and crowned themselves with pine and poplar wreaths, which entirely covered their faces. When they came to the door of the apartment, where the seast was kept, the guests made a great noise, and set up loud shouts of joy. But they were told, that the women would not come in, till the servants were all dismissed, which was done immediately. They were sent to neighbouring houses,

^{* &#}x27;Опят ви широт, "Фи, та ствойть.

The Greeks eat lying on beds.

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where there was no want of wine for their entertainment. The conspirators, by this stratagem, having made themselves masters of the field of battle, entered fword in hand, and shewing themselves in their true colours, put all the guests to the fword, and with them the magistrates, who were full of wine, and in no condition to defend themselves. Pelopidas met with more refisfance. Leontides, who was asleep in bed, awaked with the noise that was made, and rifing immediately, armed himself with his fword, and laid some of the conspirators at his feet, but was at laft killed himfelf.

This grand affair being executed in this manner with fo much dispatch and success, couriers were immediately dispatched to Thriasium. The doors of the prisons were broke open, and five hundred prisoners let out. The Thebans were called upon to refume their liberty, and arms were given to all they met. The spoils affixed to the portico's were taken down, and the armourers and cutlers shops broke open for that purpose. Epaminondas and Gorgidas came in arms to join them, with some old persons of great

estimation, whom they had got together.

The whole city was in great terror and confusion: the houses all illuminated with torches, and the streets thronged with the multitude passing to and fro. The people, in a confternation at what had happened, and for want of fufficient information, waited impatiently for the day to know their destiny. The Lacedæmonian captains were therefore thought guilty of a very great error in not falling upon them during their diforder; for the garrison consisted of fifteen hundred men, besides three thousand, who had taken refuge in the citadel. Alarmed by the cries they heard, the illuminations they faw in the houses, and the tumult of the multitude running backwards and forwards, they lay still, and contented themselves with guarding the citadel, after having fent couriers to Sparta with the merely and described the

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PERSIANS and GRECIANS. 23

the news of what had happened, and to demand an

immediate reinforcement.

The next day at sun-rise the exiles arrived with their arms, and the people were summoned to assemble. Epaminondas and Gorgidas conducted Pelopidas thither, surrounded with all their sacrificers, carrying in their hands the sacred bandages and fillets, and exhorting the citizens to affish their country, and to join with their gods. At this sight, the whole assembly rose up with loud acclamations and clapping of hands, and received the conspirators as their benefactors and deliverers. The same day, Pelopidas, Melon, and Charon were elected Boeotarchs.

Soon after the exiles, arrived five thousand foot, and five hundred horse, sent by the Athenians to Pelopidas, under the command of Demophoon. Those troops, with others which joined them from all the cities of Bœotia, composed an army of twelve thousand foot, and as many horse, and without loss of time besieged the citadel, that it might be taken be-

fore relief could come from Sparta.

The befieged made a vigorous defence in hopes of a speedy succour, and seemed resolved rather to die than surrender the place; at least, the Lacedæmonians were of that opinion: but they were not the greatest number of the garrison. When provisions began to fall short, and famine to press them; the rest of the troops obliged the Spartans to furrender. garrison had their lives granted them, and were permitted to retire whither they thought fit. They were scarce marched out, when the aid arrived. The Lacedæmonians found Cleombrotus at Megara, at the head of a powerful army, which, with a little more expedition might have faved the citadel. But this was not the first time the natural slowness of the Lacedæmonians had occasioned the miscarriage of their enterprizes. The three commanders who had capitulated were tried. Two of them were punished with death, and the third had so great a fine laid upon him,

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felf from Peloponnesus.

Pelopidas had all the honour of this great exploit, the most memorable that ever was executed by furprize and stratagem. Plutarch with reason compares it to that of Thrasybulus. Both exiles, destitute in themselves of all resource, and reduced to implore a foreign support, form the bold defign of attacking a formidable power with an handful of men; and overcoming all obstacles to their enterprize folely by their valour, had each of them the good fortune to deliver their country, and to change the face of its affairs entirely. For the Athenians were indebted to Thrafybulus for that fudden and happy change, which freeing them from the oppression they groaned under, not only restored their liberty, but with it their antient splendor, and put them into a condition to humble, and make Sparta tremble in their turn. We shall see in like manner, that the war which reduced the pride of Sparta, and deprived it of the empire by fea and land, was the work of this fingle night, in which Pelopidas, without taking either citadel or fortress, and entering only one of twelve into a private house, * unloosed and broke the chains imposed by the Lacedæmonians on all the other states of Greece, though it appeared impracticable ever to produce fuch an effect.

SECT. III. Sphodrias the Lacedæmonian forms a defign against the Piræus without success. The Athenians declare for the Thebans. Skirmishes between the latter and the Lacedæmonians.

(r) THE Lacedæmonians, after the injury they pretended to have received by the enterprize

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⁽r) A. M. 3627. Ant. J. C. 377. Xenoph. l. 5. p. 568—572. Plut. in Agef. p. 609, 610. Id. in Pelop. p. 284, 285.

Πελοπίδας, εἰ δεῖ μεῖαφο- δαιμονίων ἡγεμονίας, ἀλύτες ἡ ρᾶ τὸ ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, ἤλοσε κὰ ἀρρήκτες εἶναι δοκέντας.

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of Pelopidas, did not continue quiet, but applied themfelves in earnest to their revenge. Agesilaus, rightly judging an expedition of that kind, of which the end was to support tyrants, would not reflect much honour upon him, left it to Cleombrotus, who had lately succeeded king Agesipolis; under pretence that his great age dispensed with his undertaking it. Cleombrotus entered Boeotia with his army. The first campaign was not vigorous, and terminated in committing some ravages in the country; after which, the king retired, and detaching part of his troops to Sphodrias, who commanded at Thespiæ, returned to Sparta.

The Athenians, who did not think themselves in a condition to make head against the Lacedæmonians. and were afraid of the consequences, in which their league with the Thebans was likely to engage them. repented their having entered into it, and renounced it. Those, who persisted to adhere to the Theban party. were fome imprisoned, some put to death, others banished, and the rich severely fined. The Theban affairs seemed almost desperate; not having any alliance to support them. Pelopidas and Gorgidas were then at the head of them, and were studious of finding means to embroil the Athenians with the Lacedæmonians; and this was the stratagem they contrived.

Sphodrias the Spartan had been left at Thespize with a body of troops, to receive and protect such of the Bœotians as should revolt against Thebes. He had acquired fome reputation amongst the foldiery. and wanted neither courage nor ambition; but he was rash, superficial, full of himself, and consequently apt to entertain vain hopes. Pelopidas and Gorgidas fent privately a merchant of his own acquaintance to him, with the offer, as from himself, of a confiderable fum of money, and with infinuations still more agreeable to him than money, as they flattered his vanity. "After having represented to him, that " one of his meritand reput ation ought to form fome " great VOL. V. M

great enterprize to immortalize his name; he proof posed to him the seizing of the Piræus by surprize. when the Athenians had no expectation of fuch an attempt: He added, that nothing could be more " grateful to the Lacedæmonians, than to fee themse selves masters of Athens; and that the Thebans, en-

c raged at the Athenians, whom they confidered as traytors and deferters, would lend them no affift-

" ance."

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Sphodrias, fond of acquiring a great name, and envying the glory of Phæbidas, who, in his fense, had rendered himself renowned and illustrious by his unjust attempt upon Thebes, conceived it would be a much more shining and glorious exploit to seize the Piræus of his own accord, and deprive the Athenians of their great power at fea, by an unforeseen attack by land. He undertook the enterprize therefore with great joy; which was neither less unjust nor less horrid than that of the Cadmea, but not executed with the fame boldness and success. For having set out in the night from Thespiæ, with the view of surprizing the Piræus before light, the day-break overtook him in the plain of Thriasium near Eleusis, and finding himself discovered, he returned shamefully to Thespiæ with fome booty which he had taken.

The Athenians immediately fent ambaffadors with their complaints to Sparta. Those ambassadors found, that the Lacedæmonians had not waited their arrival to accuse Sphodrias, but had already cited him before the council to answer for his conduct. He was afraid to obey that summons, having just reason to apprehend the iffue of a trial, and the refentment of his country. He had a fon, who had contracted a strict and tender friendship with the son of Agesilaus. The latter follicited his father fo earnestly, or rather tormented him with such extreme importunity and perfeverance, that he could not refuse Sphodrias his protection, and got him fully absolved. Agesilaus was little delicate, as we have feen already, in point of justice,

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justice, when the service of his friends was in question. He was besides, of all mankind, the most tender and indulgent father to his children. It is reported of him, that when they were little, he would play with them, and divert himself with riding upon a stick amongst them; and that having been surprized by a friend in that action, he desired him not to tell any body of it till he himself was a father.

(s) The unjust sentence passed in favour of Sphodrias by the Spartans, exceedingly incenfed the Athenians, and determined them to renew their alliance with Thebes immediately, and to affift them with all their power. They fitted out a fleet, and gave the command of it to Timotheus, fon of the illustrious Conon, whose reputation he well sustained by his own valour and exploits. It was he, whom his enemies, in envy of the glory he had acquired by his great actions, painted fleeping with the goddess Fortune at his feet taking towns in nets for him (t): But upon this occasion he proved that he was not asleep. After having ravaged the coast of Laconia, he attacked the isle of Corcyra (u), which he took. He treated the inhabitants with great humanity, and made no alteration in their liberty or laws, which very much inclined the neighbouring cities in favour of Athens. The Spartans on their fide made powerful preparations for the war, and were principally intent upon retaking Corcyra. Its happy fituation between Sicily and Greece rendered that island very important. therefore engaged Dionysius the tyrant in the expedition, and demanded aid of him. In the mean time they dispatched their fleet under Mnasippus. Athenians fent fixty fail against them to the relief of Corcyra, under Timotheus at first; but soon after. upon his feeming to act too flowly, Iphicrates was substituted in his place. Mnasippus having made himfelf odious to his troops by his haughtiness, rigour and

⁽s) Xenoph. 1. 5. p. 584—589. Plut. in Agef. p. 610, 611. Id. in Pelop. p. 285--288. (t) Plut. in Syl. p. 454. (u) Corfu. M 2 avarice,

avarice, was very ill obeyed by them, and lost his life in an engagement. Iphicrates did not arrive till after his death, when he received advice, that the Syracufan squadron of ten gallies approached, which he attacked so successfully, that not one of them escaped. He had demanded, that the orator Callistratus, and Chabrias one of the most renowned captains of his time, should be joined in commission with him. Xenophon admires his wisdom and greatness of soul upon that account, in being satisfied with appearing to have occasion for counsel, and not apprehending to

share the glory of his victories with others.

Agefilaus had been prevailed upon to take upon him the command of the troops against Thebes. He entered Bœotia, where he did abundance of damage to the Thebans, not without confiderable loss on his The two armies came every day to blows, own fide. and were perpetually engaged, though not in formal battle, yet in skirmishes, which served to instruct the Thebans in the trade of war, and to inspire them with valour, boldness, and experience. It is reported that the Spartan Antalcides told Agesilaus very justly upon this head, when he was brought back from Boeotia much wounded, My lord Agefilaus, you have a fine reward for the lessons you have given the Thebans in the art of war, which, before you taught it them, they neither would, nor could learn. It was to prevent this inconvenience, that Lycurgus, in one of the three laws which he calls Rhetra, forbad the Lacedæmonians to make war often upon the same enemy, lest they should make them too good foldiers, by obliging them to the frequent defence of themselves.

Several campaigns passed in this manner without any thing decisive on either side. It was prudent in the Theban generals not to hazard a battle hitherto, and to give their soldiers time to inure and imbolden themselves. When the occasion was favourable, they let them loose like generous hounds, and after having given them a taste of victory by way of reward, they called

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was even called them off, contented with their courage and alacrity. The principal glory of their fuccess and this

wife conduct was due to Pelopidas.

The engagement at Tegyra, which was a kind of prelude to the battle of Leuctra, added much to his reputation. Having failed in his enterprize against Orchomenos, which had joined the Lacedæmonians, at his return he found the enemy posted to intercept him near Tegyra. Affoon as the Thebans perceived them from the defiles, fomebody run in all hafte to Pelopidas and told him, We are fallen into the enemy's hands. Ah! replied he, why should we not rather fay, that they are fallen into ours? At the same time he ordered his cavalry, which were his rear-guard, to advance to the front, that they might begin the fight. He was affured, that his foot, which were only three hundred men, and were called the facred battalion, would break through the enemy, wherever they charged, though superior in number, as they were by at least two thirds. The affault began where the generals of each party were posted, and was very rude. The two generals of the Lacedæmonians, who had charged Pelopidas, were prefently killed; all that were with them being either slain or dispersed. The rest of the Lacedæmonian troops were so daunted, that they opened a passage for the Thebans, who might have marched on to fave themselves if they had thought fit: But Pelopidas, disdaining to make use of that opening for his retreat, advanced against those who who were still drawn up in battle, and made so great a flaughter of them, that they were all dismayed, and fled in disorder. The Thebans did not pursue them They contented far, left they should be surprized. themselves with having broken them, and with making a glorious retreat not inferior to a victory, because through the enemy dispersed and defeated.

This little encounter, for it can be called no more, was in a manner the fource of the great actions and events we are about to treat of. It had never hap-

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pened till then in any war, either against the Barbarians or Greeks, that the Lacedæmonians had been defeated with the fuperiority of number on their fide. nor even with equal forces in battle array. For which reason they were insupportably proud, and their reputation alone kept their enemies in awe, who never durft shew themselves in the field before them unless superior in number. They now loft that glory, and the Thebans in their turn became the terror and dread even of those, who had rendered themselves so univerfally formidable.

(x) The enterprize of Artaxerxes Mnemon against Egypt, and the death of Evagoras king of Cyprus, should naturally come in here. But I shall defer those articles, to avoid breaking in upon the Theban af-

fairs.

SECT. IV. New troubles in Greece. The Lacedamonians declare war against Thebes. They are defeated and put to flight in the battle of Leuctra. Epaminondas ravages Laconia, and marches to the gates of Sparta.

(y) WHILST the Persians were engaged in the Egyptian war, great troubles arose in Greece. In that interval the Thebans, having taken Platæa (z) and afterwards Thespiæ, entirely demolished those cities, and expelled the inhabitants. The Platæans retired to Athens with their wives and children, where they were received with the utmost favour, and adopted into the number of the citizens.

(a) Artaxerxes, being informed of the flate of the Grecian affairs, fent a new embaffy thither to perfuade the feveral cities and republics at war to lay down their arms, and accommodate their differences upon the plan of the treaty of Antalcides.

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⁽x) A. M. 3627. A. M. 3630. (y) Diod. l. 51. p. 361, 362. (z) Platæa, a city of Bæstia. Thespiæ of Achaia. (a) A. M. 3633. Ant. J. C. 371. Xenoph. hist. Græc. l. 6. p. 590 --- 593. Dion. p. 365, 366.

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peace, as has been observed in its place, it was concluded, that all the cities of Greece should enjoy their liberty, and be governed by their own laws. In virtue of this article, the Lacedæmonians press'd the Thebans to restore their liberty to all the cities of Bæotia, to rebuild Platæa and Thespiæ which they had demolished, and to restore them with their dependences to their antient inhabitants. The Thebans on their side insisted also, that the Lacedæmonians should give liberty to all those of Laconia, and that the city of Messene should be restored to its antient possessor. This was what equity required; but the Lacedæmonians believing themselves much superior to the Thebans, were for imposing a law upon them, which they would not submit to themselves.

All Greece being weary of a war, which had already lasted several campaigns, and had no other cause but the Spartan ambition and injustice, nor any other end than the aggrandizing of that flate, was feriously intent upon a general peace, and, with that view, had fent deputies to Lacedæmon, to concert together the means of attaining fo defirable an effect. (b) Amongst those deputies Epaminondas was of the first rank. He was at that time celebrated for his great erudition and profound knowledge in philosophy; but he had not yet given any very distinguished proofs of his great capacity for the command of armies, and the administration of public affairs. Seeing that all the deputies, out of respect for Agesilaus who declared openly for the war, were afraid to contradict him, or to differ from his opinion in any thing, a very common effect of too imperious a power on one fide, and too fervile a submission on the other; he was the only one that spoke with a wife and noble boldness, as became a statesman who had no other view but the public good. He made a speech not for the Thebans alone, but for Greece in general; in which he proved, that the war augmented only the power

(b) Plut. in Agefil. p. 611.

of Sparta, whilst the rest of Greece was reduced, and ruined by it. He insisted principally upon the necessity of establishing the peace in equality and justice, because no peace could be solid and of long duration, but that wherein all parties should find an equal ad-

vantage.

A discourse like this, sounded evidently upon reafon and justice, and pronounced with a grave and ferious tone, never fails of making impression. Agesilaus plainly distinguished, from the attention and silence with which it was heard, that the deputies were extremely affected with it, and would not fail to act conformably to his opinion. To prevent that effect, he demanded of Epaminondas, Whether he thought it just and reasonable, that Boeotia should be free and independent, that is to fay, whether he agreed, that the cities of Bœotia should depend no longer upon Thebes. Epaminondas immediately asked in his turn with great vivacity, Whether he thought it just and reasonable, that Laconia should enjoy the same independence and liberty. Upon which Agefilaus rifing from his feat in great rage, infifted upon his declaring plainly, whether be would consent that Beetia should be free? Epaminondas retorted his question again, and asked, Whether, on his side, he would consent that Laconia should be free? Agefilaus, who wanted only a pretext for breaking with the Thebans, struck them directly out of the treaty of alliance, which they were about to conclude. The rest of the allies signed it, less out of inclination, than not to offend the Lacedæmonians, whose power they dreaded.

(c) In consequence of this treaty, all troops in the field were to be disbanded. Cleombrotus, one of the kings of Sparta, was then at Phocis, at the head of the army. He wrote to the Ephori to know the republic's resolutions. Prothous, one of the principal senators, represented, that there was no room for de-

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⁽c) Xenoph. l, 6. p. 593-597. Diod. l. 15. p. 365-371. Plut. in Agefil. p. 611, 612. Id. in Pelop. p. 288, 289.

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liberations, for that Sparta, by the late agreement, had made the recal of the troops indispensible. Agefilaus was of a different opinion. Angry with the Thebans, and particularly with Epaminondas, he was absolutely bent on the war for an opportunity of revenge, and the prefent feemed most favourable, when all Greece was free and united, and only the Thebans excluded the treaty of peace. The advice: of Prothous was therefore rejected by the whole council, * who treated him as an honest well-meaning dotard that knew nothing of the matter; the Divinity, from thenceforth, as Xenophon observes, promoting their downfal. The Ephori wrote immediately to Cleombrotus to march against the Thebans with his troops, and fent orders at the same time to all their allies to affemble their forces, who were very averse to this war, and did not join in it but with great reluctance, and out of fear of contradicting the Lacedæmonians, whom they did not yet dare to disobey. Though no happy confequences could be expected. from a war, visibly undertaken contrary to all reason and justice, and from the sole motive of resentment and revenge; the Lacedæmonians however, from the superiority of their numbers, assured themselves of success, and imagined that the Thebans, abandoned by their allies, were in no condition to oppose them.

(d) The Thebans were much alarmed at first. They saw themselves alone, without allies or support, whilst all Greece looked upon them as utterly lost; not knowing that in a single man they had more than armies. This was Epaminondas. He was appointed general, and had several collegues joined in commission with him. He immediately raised all the troops he could, and began his march. His army did not amount to six thousand men, and the enemy had above four times that number. As several had omens

⁽d) A. M. 3634. Ant. J. C. 370.

^{*} Έκεικου μιν Φλυαρείν ήγησατο ήδη β ως δοιπε το δαιρούνιου.

were told him to prevent his fetting out, he replied only by a verse of Homer's, of which the sense is, *There is but one good omen, to fight for one's country. However, to re-assure the soldiers, by nature superstitious, and whom he observed to be discouraged, he instructed several persons to come from different places, and report auguries and omens in his savour, which revived the spirit and hopes of the troops.

Pelopidas was not then in office, but commanded the facred battalion. When he left his house to go to the army, his wife, in taking her last adieu, conjured him with a flood of tears to take care of himself; That, said he, should be recommended to young people; but for generals, they have no occasion for such advice; the care of others should be recommended to them.

Epaminondas had wifely taken care to fecure a pass, by which Cleombrotus might have shortened his march confiderably. The latter, after having taken a large compass, arrived at Leuctra, a small town of Bœotia, between Platæa and Thespiæ. Both parties confulted whether they should give battle; which Cleombrotus resolved by the advice of all his officers, who represented to him, that if he declined fighting with fuch a superiority of troops, it would confirm the current report, that he fecretly favoured the The-The latter had an effential reason for hastening a battle before the arrival of the troops, which the enemy daily expected. However the fix generals, who formed the council of war, differed in their fen-The feventh, who was Epaminondas, came in very good time to join the three, that were for fighting, and his opinion carrying the question, the battle was resolved upon. This was in the second year of the 102d olympiad.

The two armies were very unequal in number. That of the Lacedæmonians, as has been faid, confisted of twenty four thousand foot, and fixteen hundred horse. The Thebans had only fix thousand foot

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^{*} Είς διωνδς άρισος, άμωνέοθαι περί πάτρης. Iliad. xi. v. 423.

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and four hundred horse; but all of them choice troops, animated by their experience of the war, and determined to conquer or die. The Lacedæmonian carvalry, composed of men picked up by chance, without valour, and ill disciplined, was as much inserior to their enemies in courage, as superior in number. The infantry could not be depended on, except the Lacedæmonians; the allies, as has been said, having engaged in the war with reluctance, because they did not approve the motive of it, and were besides dislatissed with the Lacedæmonians.

The ability of the generals on either fide supplied the place of numerous armies, especially of the Theban, who was the most accomplished captain of his times. He was supported by Pelopidas at the head of the facred battalion, composed of three hundred Thebans, united in a strict friendship and affection, and engaged under a particular oath never to fly, but to defend each other to the last drop of their blood.

Upon the day of battle the two armies drew up on a plain. Cleombrotus was upon the right, confishing of Lacedæmonians, on whom he confided most, and whose files were twelve deep. To take the advantage, which his superiority of horse gave him in an open country, he posted them in the front of his Lacedæmonians. Archidamus, Agestlaus's son, was at the head of the allies, who formed the left wing.

Epaminondas, who refolved to charge with his left, which he commanded in person, strengthened it with the choice of his heavy-armed troops, whom he drew up fifty deep. The sacred battalion was upon his left, and closed the wing. The rest of his infantry were posted upon his right in an oblique line, which, the sarther it extended, was the more distant from the enemy. By this uncommon disposition, his design was to cover his slank on the right, to keep off his right wing as a kind of reserved body, that he might not hazard the event of the battle upon the weakest part of his army; and to begin the action with his

left wing, where his best troops were posted, to turn the whole weight of the battle upon king Cleombrotus and the Spartans. He was assured, that if he could penetrate the Lacedæmonian Phalanx, the rest of the army would soon be put to the rout. As for his horse, he disposed them after the enemy's example in the front of his left.

The action began by the cavalry. As that of the Thebans were better mounted and braver troops than the Lacedæmonian horse, the latter were not long before they were broke, and driven upon the infantry, which they put into some confusion. Epaminondas following his horse close, marched swiftly up to Cleombrotus, and fell upon his Phalanx with all the weight of his heavy battalion. The latter, to make a diversion, detached a body of troops with orders to take Epaminondas in flank, and to furround him. Pelopidas upon the fight of that movement, advanced with incredible speed and boldness at the head of the facred battalion to prevent the enemy's defign, and flanked Cleombrotus himself, who, by that sudden and unexpected attack, was put into diforder. The battle was very rude and obstinate, and whilst Cleombrotus could act, the victory continued in suspense, and declared for neither party. When he fell dead with his wounds, the Thebans, to compleat the victory, and the Lacedæmonians, to avoid the shame of abandoning the body of their king, redoubled their efforts, and a great flaughter enfued on both fides. The Spartans fought with fo much fury about the body, that at length they gained their point, and carried it off. Animated by fo glorious an advantage, they prepared to return to the charge, which would perhaps have proved fuccessful, had the allies seconded their ardor. But the left wing, feeing the Lacedæmonian Phalanx had been broke, and believing all loft, especially when they heard that the king was dead, took to flight, and drew off the rest of the army along with them. Epaminondas followed them vigoroufly, The erect their

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hena ufly, vigorously, and killed a great number in the pursuit. The Thebans remained masters of the field of battle, erected a trophy, and permitted the enemy to bury their dead.

The Lacedæmonians had never received such a blow. The most bloody defeats till then had scarce ever cost them more than sour or sive hundred of their citizens. They had been seen, however animated, or rather violently incensed against Athens, to ransom by a truce of thirty years eight hundred of their citizens, who had suffered themselves to be shut up in the little island of Sphacteria. Here they lost four thousand men, of whom one thousand were Lacedæmonians, and sour hundred * Spartans, out of seven hundred who were in the battle. The Thebans had only three hundred men killed, among whom were sew of their citizens.

The city of Sparta celebrated at that time the Gymnic games, and was full of strangers, whom curiosity had brought thither. When the couriers arrived from Leuctra with the terrible news of their defeat, the Ephori, though perfectly sensible of all the consequences, and that the Spartan empire had received a mortal wound, would not permit the representations of the theatre to be suspended, nor any changes in the celebration of the sestions. They sent to every family the names of their relations, who were killed, and stayed in the theatre to see that the dances and games were continued without interruption to the end.

The next day in the morning the loss of each family being known, the fathers and relations of those who had died in the battle, met in the public place, and saluted and embraced each other with great joy and serenity in their looks; whilst the others kept themselves close in their houses, or if necessity obliged them to go abroad, it was with a sadness and dejection

^{*} Those were properly called the Lacedæmonians were settled in Spartans, who inhabited Sparta; the country.

of aspect, which sensibly expressed their prosound anguish and affliction. That disserence was still more remarkable in the women. Grief, silence, tears, distinguished those who expected the return of their sons; but such as had lost their sons were seen hurrying to the temples to thank the gods, and congratulating each other upon their glory and good fortune. It cannot be denied, but such sentiments argue great courage and resolution; but I would not have them entirely extinguish natural tenderness, and should have been better pleased, had there been less of * ferocity in them.

Sparta was under no fmall difficulty to know how to act in regard to those who had fled from the battle. As they were numerous, and of the most powerful families in the city, it was not fafe to inflict upon them the punishments assigned by the laws, lest their despair should induce them to take some violent resolution fatal to the state. For such as fled were not only excluded from all offices and employments, but it was a difgrace to contract any alliance with them by marriage. Any body that met them in the streets might buffet them, which they were obliged to fuffer. They were besides to wear dirty and ragged habits, full of patches of different colours. And laftly, they were to shave half their beards, and to let the other half grow. It was a great loss to the Spartans to be deprived of fo many of their foldiery, at a time when they had fuch pressing occasion for them. To remove this difficulty, they chose Agesilaus Legislator, with absolute power to make such alterations in the laws as he should think fit. Agefilaus, without adding, retrenching, or changing any thing, found means to fave the fugitives without prejudice to the

good fortune to defending their country against its enemies, when its ruin is at stake, is to die in its defence. Slawes have no country. That and themselves are the tyrants.

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^{*} Mr. Rollin feems to speak here en François. The sentiments of the Spartans have no exception, and are strictly confishent with true greatness of soul. None but slaves will deny, that the next glory and

d anstate. In a full affembly of the Lacedæmonians, he more decreed, That for the present day, the laws should be tears, Suspended, and of no effect; but ever after to remain in their full force and authority. By those few words he preurryferved the Spartan laws entire, and at the same time, itularestored to the state that great number of its members, tune. in preventing their being for ever degraded, and congreat fequentially useless to the republic. them (e) After the battle of Leuctra the two parties were have

industriously employed, the one in retrieving, and the

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(f) Agefilaus, to revive the courage of his troops. marched them into Arcadia; but with a full refolution, carefully to avoid a battle. He confined himself to attacking fome small towns of the Mantinæans, which he took, and laid the country waste. This gave Sparta fome joy, and they began to take courage from believing their condition not entirely desperate.

The Thebans, foon after their victory, fent an account of it to Athens, and to demand aid at the same time against the common enemy. The senate was then fitting, which received the courier with great coldness, did not make him the usual presents, and dismissed him without taking any notice of aid. The Athenians, alarmed at the confiderable advantage which the Thebans had gained over the Lacedæmonians, could not diffemble the umbrage and diffatisfaction which fo fudden and unexpected an increase of a neighbouring power gave them, which might foon render itself formidable to all Greece.

At Thebes, Epaminondas and Pelopidas had been elected joint governors of Bœotia. Having affembled all the troops of the Bœotians and their allies, whose number daily increased, they entered Peloponnesus, and made abundance of places and people revolt from the Lacedæmonians; Elis, Argos, Arcadia, and the

greatest

⁽e) Xenoph. 1. 6. p. 598. Diod. 1. 15. p. 375-378. In Agefil. p. 613-615. Id, in Pelop. p. 290.

greatest part of Laconia itself. It was then about the winter-folftice, and towards the end of the last month of the year, fo that in a few days they were to quit their offices; the first day of the next month being affigned by law, for their refigning them to the perfons appointed to fucceed them, upon pain of death, if they held them beyond that term. Their collegues, apprehending the badness of the season, and more, the dreadful confequences of infringing that law, were for marching back the army immediately to Thebes. Pelopidas was the first, who, entering into the opinion of Epaminondas, animated the citizens, and engaged them to take the advantage of the enemy's alarm. and to pursue their enterprize in neglect of a formality, from the observance of which they might justly believe themselves dispensed by the state itself, as the service of the state, when founded in justice, is the fovereign law and rule of the people's obedience.

They entered Laconia therefore at the head of an army of seventy thousand good soldiers, of which, the twelfth part were not Thebans. The great reputation of the two generals was the cause, that all the allies, even without order or public decree, obeyed them with respectful silence, and marched with entire confidence and courage under their command. It was fix hundred years since the Dorians had established themselves at Lacedæmon, and in all that time, they had never seen an enemy upon their lands; none daring till then to set foot in them, and much less to attack their city, though without walls. The Thebans and their allies, finding a country hitherto untouched by an enemy, ran through it with fire and sword, destroying and plundering as far as the river

Eurotas, without any opposition whatsoever.

Parties had been posted to defend some important passes. Is cholar the Spartan, who commanded one of these detachments, distinguished himself in a peculiar manner. Finding it impossible, with his small body of troops, to support the enemy's attack, and think-

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thinking it below a Spartan to abandon his post, he sent back the young men, who were of age and condition to serve their country effectually, and kept none with him but such as were advanced in years. With these dovoting himself after the example of Leonidas to the public good, they sold their lives dear; and after having defended themselves a long time, and made a great slaughter of their enemies, they all perished to a man.

Agefilaus acted upon this occasion with great address and wisdom. He looked upon this irruption of the enemy as an impetuous torrent, which it was not only in vain, but dangerous, to oppose, whose rapid course would be but of short duration, and after some ravages subside of itself. He contented himself with distributing his best troops into the middle, and all the most important parts of the city, strongly securing all the posts. He was determined not to quit the town, nor to hazard a battle, and persisted in that resolution, without regard to all the raillery, insults, and menaces of the Thebans, who defied him by name, and called upon him to come out and defend his country, who had alone been the cause of all its sufferings, in kindling the war.

But far greater afflictions to Agefilaus were the commotions and disorders excited within the city, the murmurs and complaints of the old men in the highest affliction and despair from being witnesses of what they faw, as well as of the women, who feemed quite diftracted with hearing the threatning cries of the enemy, and feeing the neighbouring country all on fire, whilft the flames and smoke, which drove almost upon them, feemed to denounce a like misfortune to themselves. Whatever courage Agefilaus might express in his outward behaviour, he could not fail of being fenfibly affected with fo mournful an object, to which was added, the grief of losing his reputation; who, having found the city in a most flourishing and potent condition, when he came to the government, now faw it fallen

fallen to fuch a degree, and all its antient glory loft under him! He was besides, secretly mortified at so mournful a contradiction of a boast he had often made. That no woman of Sparta had ever feen the smoke of an

enemy's camp.

Whilst he was giving different orders in the city, he was informed, that a certain number of mutineers had feized an important post, with a resolution to defend themselves in it. Agesilaus ran immediately thither, and as if he had been entirely unacquainted with-their bad design, he said to them, Comrades, it is not there I fent you. At the same time he pointed to different posts to divide them; to which they went, believing their enterprize had not been discovered. This order, which he gave without emotion, argues a great prefence of mind in Agefilaus, and shews, that in times of trouble it is not proper to fee too much, that the culpable may not want time to reflect and repent. He thought it more adviseable to suppose that small troop innocent, than to urge them to a declared revolt by a too rigorous enquiry.

The Eurotas was at that time very much swoln by the melting of the fnows, and the Thebans found more difficulty in passing it than they expected, as well from the extreme coldness of the water, as its rapidity. As Epaminondas passed at the head of his infantry, some of the Spartans shewed him to Agesilaus; who, after having attentively confidered and followed him with his eyes a long time, faid only, * Wonderful man! in admiration of the valour that could undertake fuch great things. Epaminondas would have been glad to have given battle in Sparta, and to have erected a trophy in the midst of it. He did not however think proper to attempt the forcing of the city, and not being able to induce Agefilaus to quit it, chose to retire. It would have been difficult for Sparta, without aid, and unfortified, to have

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^{*} Ω τέ μεγαλοπράγμονος αν- Sy to be translated. It signifies, θρώπ8, the Greek expression is not ea. Oh the actor of great deeds!

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defended itself long against a victorious army. But the wise captain who commanded it, apprehended, that he should draw upon his hands the whole force of Peloponnesus, and still more, that he should excite the jealousy of the Greeks, who would never have pardoned his destroying so potent a republic, and pulling out, as Leptinus says, one of the eyes of Greece, as a proof of his skill (g). He confined himself therefore to the glory of having humbled the proud, whose Laconic language added new haughtiness to their commands, and of having reduced them to the necessity, as he boasted himself, of enlarging their stile, and lengthening their monosyllables. At his return he again wasted the country.

(b) In this expedition the Thebans re-instated Arcadia into one body, and took Messenia from the Spartans, who had been in possession of it + very long, after having expelled all its inhabitants. It was a country equal in extent to Laconia, and as fertile as the best in Greece. Its antient inhabitants, who were dispersed in different regions of Greece, Italy and Sicily, on the first notice given them, returned with incredible joy; animated by the love of their country natural to all men, and almost as much by their hatred of the Spartans, which the length of time had on-They built themselves a city, which, ly increased. from the antient name, was called Messene. Amongst the bad events of this war, none gave the Lacedæmonians more fenfible displeasure, or rather more lively grief; because from immemorial time an irreconcileable enmity had fubfifted between Sparta and Meffene, which feemed incapable of being extinguished but by the final ruin of the one or the other.

⁽g) Arist. Rhet. l. 3. c. 10.

⁽b) Pauf. 1. 4. p. 267, 268.

^{*} The Lacedæmonians sometimes answered the most important dispatches by a single monosyllable. Philip having wrote to them, If I enter your country, I shall put all to fire and sword; they replied, If:

to fignify they should take all possible care to put it out of his power.

[†] The Messen and been driven out of their country two bundred and eighty seven years.

(i) Polybius reflects upon an antient error in the conduct of the Messenians with regard to Sparta, which was the cause of all their misfortunes. was their too great follicitude for the present tranquillity, and through an excessive love of peace, their neglecting the means of making it fure and lasting. Two of the most powerful states of Greece were their neighbours, the Arcadians and Lacedæmonians, The latter, from their first settlement in the country, had declared open war against them: the others on the contrary always joined with them, and entered into all their interests. But the Messenians had neither the courage to oppose their violent and irreconcileable enemies with valour and constancy, nor the prudence to treat with due regard their faithful and affectionate allies. When the two states were either at war with each other, or carried their arms elsewhere, the Messenians, little provident for the future, and regarding only their present repose, made it a rule with them never to engage in the quarrel on either fide, and to observe an exact neutrality. On such conjunctures they congratulated themselves upon their wifdom and fuccess in preserving their tranquillity, whilft their neighbours all around them were involved in trouble and confusion. But this tranquillity was of no long duration. The Lacedæmonians, having fubdued their enemies, fell upon them with all their forces; and finding them unsupported by allies, and incapable of defending themselves, they reduced them to fubmit, either to the yoke of a rigid flavery, or to banish themselves from their country. And this was feveral times their case. They ought to have reflected, fays Polybius, * that as there is nothing more defireable or advantagious than peace, when founded in justice and honour; so there is nothing more shameful, an tained liberty

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⁽i) Polyb. l. 4. p. 299, 300.

^{*} Ειρήνη γ^5 , μετὰ μὸ τε δε κακίας η δελείας επονειδίς ε, δικάιε κὰ πρέποντ \odot , κάκλις ον πάντων μίχις ον κὰ βλαδερώτα- ες κῆμα κὰ λυσιτελές ατον· μ \odot τον.

ful, and at the same time more pernicious, when attained by bad measures, and purchased at the price of liberty.

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SECT. V. The two Theban generals, at their return, are accused, and absolved. Sparta implores aid of the Athenians. The Greeks send ambassadors to Artaxerxes. Credit of Pelopidas at the court of Persia.

I T might be expected, that the two Theban captains, on their return to their country after such memorable actions, should have been received with the general applause, and all the honours, that could be conferred upon them. Instead of which, they were both summoned to answer as criminals against the state; in having, contrary to the law, whereby they were obliged to resign their command to new officers, retained it sour months beyond the appointed term; during which they had executed in Messenia, Arcadia, and Laconia, all those great things we have related.

A behaviour of this kind is furprizing, and the relation of it cannot be read without a fecret indignation: But fuch a conduct had a very plaufible foundation. The zealous aftertors of a liberty lately regained, were apprehensive that the example might prove very pernicious, in authorizing some future magistrate to maintain himself in command beyond the established term, and in consequence to turn his arms against his country. It is not to be doubted, but the Romans would have acted in the same manner; and if they were fo fevere, to put an officer to death, though victorious, for giving battle without his general's orders; how would they have behaved to a general, who should have continued four months in the fupreme command, contrary to the laws, and upon his own authority?

(k) Pelopidas was the first cited before the tribunal. He defended himself with less force and greatness of

⁽⁴⁾ Plut. de fui laude, p. 540.

mind than was expected from a man of his character. by nature warm and fiery. That valour, haughty and intrepid in fight, forfook him before the judges, His air and discourse, which had something timid and creeping in it, denoted a man who was afraid of death, and did not in the least incline the judges in his favour, who acquitted him not without difficulty. Epaminondas appeared and spoke with a quite different air and tone. He feemed, if I may be allowed the expression, to charge danger in front without emotion. Instead of justifying himself, he made a panegyric upon his actions, and repeated in a lofty ftile, in what manner he had ravaged Laconia, re-established Messenia, and re-united Arcadia in one body, He concluded with faying, that he should die with pleasure, if the Thebans would renounce the sole glory of those actions to him, and declare that he had done them by his own authority, and without their participation. All the voices were in his favour; and he returned from his trial, as he used to return from battle, with glory and univerfal applause. Such dignity has true valour, that it in a manner feizes the admiration of mankind by force.

He was by nature defigned for great actions, and every thing he did, had an air of grandeur in it. (1) His enemies, jealous of his glory, and with defign to affront him, got him elected Telearch; an office very unworthy of a person of his merit. He however thought it no dishonour to him, and said, that he would demonstrate, that * the office did not only shew the man, but the man the office. He accordingly raised that employment to very great dignity, which before consisted only in taking care, that the streets were kept clean, the dirt carried away, and the drains and

common shores in good order.

(m) The Lacedæmonians, having every thing to

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⁽¹⁾ Plot. de præcept. reip. ger. p. 811. (m) Xenoph. 1. 6, p. 609—613.

[&]quot; Ου μιόνον άρχη άνθρα δεικνυσιν, άλλα κζ άρχην άνης.

fear from an enemy, whom the late fuccesses had rendered still more haughty and enterprizing than ever, and feeing themselves exposed every moment to a new irruption, had recourse to the Athenians, and sent deputies to them to implore their aid. The person who spoke, began with describing in the most pathetic terms the deplorable condition, and extreme danger to which Sparta was reduced. He enlarged upon the infolent haughtiness of the Thebans, and their ambitious views, which tended to nothing less than the empire of all Greece. He infinuated what Athens in particular had to fear, if they were suffered to extend their power by the increase of allies, who every day went over to their party, and augmented their forces. He called to mind the happy times, in which the strict union betwixt Athens and Sparta, had preserved Greece to the equal glory of both states; and concluded with faying, how great an addition it would be to the Athenian name, to aid a city, its antient friend and ally, which more than once had generously facrificed itself for the common interest and safety.

The Athenians could not deny all that the deputy advanced in his discourse, but at the same time they had not forgot the bad treatment, which they had suffered from the Spartans on more than one occasion, and especially after the deseat of Sicily. However their compassion of the present missortunes of Sparta carried it against the sense of the former injuries, and determined them to assist the Lacedæmonians with all their forces. (n) Sometime after, the deputies of several states being assembled at Athens, a league and consederacy was concluded against the Thebans, conformably to the late treaty of Antalcides, and the intention of the king of Persia, who continually made

instances for its execution.

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(0) A flight advantage gained by the Spartans over their enemies, raised them from the dejection of spi-

⁽n) Xenoph. l. 7. p. 613—616. 615. Xenoph. l. 7. p. 619, 620.

⁽⁰⁾ Plut. in Agefil. p. 614,

rit in which they had hitherto remained, as it generally happens, when in a mortal distemper the least glimple of a recovery enlivens hope and recals joy. Archidamus, fon of Agefilaus, having received aid from Dionysius the Younger, tyrant of Sicily, put himself at the head of his troops, and defeated the Arcadians in a battle, called the battle without tears (p), because he did not lose a man, and killed a great number of the enemy. The Spartans before had been for much accustomed to conquer, that they became infenfible to the pleasure of victory: but when the news of this battle arrived, and they faw Archidamus return victorious, they could not contain their joy, nor keep within the city. His father was the first that went out to meet him, weeping with joy and tenderness. He was followed by the great officers and ma-The crowd of old men and women came down as far as the river, lifting up their hands to heaven, and returning thanks to the gods, as if this action had obliterated the shame of Sparta, and they began to fee those happy days again, in which the Spartan glory and reputation had rose so high.

(9) Philiscus, who had been sent by the king of Perfia to reconcile the Grecian states, was arrived at Delphos, whither he summoned their deputies to repair. The god was not at all confulted in the affair discussed in that assembly. The Spartans demanded, that Messene and its inhabitants should return to their obedience to them. Upon the Thebans refusal to comply with that demand, the affembly broke up, and Philiscus retired, after having lest considerable fums of money with the Lacedæmonians for levying troops and carrying on the war. Sparta, reduced and humbled by its losses, was no longer the object of the Persian's fear or jealousy; but Thebes, victorious and triumphant, gave them just cause of inquietude.

(r) To form a league against Thebes with greater

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⁽p) Diod. l. 15. p. 383. (q) Xenoph. p. 619. Diod. p. 381. (r) Xenoph. l. 7. p. 620—622. Plut. in Pelop. p. 294.

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certainty, the allies had fent deputies to the great king. The Thebans on their fide deputed Pelopidas; an extremely wife choice, from the great reputation of the ambassador, which is no indifferent circumstance in respect to the success of a negotiation. The battle of Leuctra had spread his same into the remotest provinces of Asia. When he arrived at the court, and appeared amongst the princes and nobility, they cried out in admiration of him, This is he, who deprived the Lacedæmonians of their empire by sea and land, and reduced Sparta to confine itself between the Eurotas and Taygetus, that not long since, under its king Agesilaus, threatened no less than to invade us in Susa and Echatana.

Artaxerxes, extremely pleased with his arrival, paid him extraordinary honours, and piqued himself upon extolling him highly before the lords of his court; in esteem indeed of his great merit, but much more out of vanity and felf-love, and to infinuate to his fubjects, that the greatest and most illustrious persons made their court to him, and paid homage to his power and good fortune. But after having admitted him to audience, and heard his discourse, in his opinion more nervous than that of the Athenian ambassadors, and more fimple than that of the Lacedæmonians, which was faying a great deal, he esteemed him more than ever; and as it is * common with kings, who are but little accustomed to constraint, he did not dissemble his extreme regard for him, and his preference of him to all the rest of the Grecian deputies.

Pelopidas, as an able politician, had apprized the king, how important it was to the interest of his crown to protect an infant power, which had never borne arms against the Persians, and which, in forming a kind of ballance between Sparta and Athens, might be able to make an useful diversion against those republics, the perpetual and irreconcileable enemies of Persia, that had lately cost it so many losses and in-

^{*} Πάθος βασιλικόν παθών.

quietudes. Timagoras, the Athenian, was the best received after him; because, being passionately desirous of humbling Sparta, and at the same time of pleasing the king, he did not appear averse to the views of Pelopidas.

The king having pressed Pelopidas to explain what favours he had to ask of him, he demanded, "That "Messene should continue free and exempt from the yoke of Sparta; that the Athenian gallies, which

were failed to infest the coast of Boeotia, should be recalled, or that war should be declared against

Athens; that those who would not come into the

" league, or march against such as should oppose it, fhould be attacked first." All which was decreed, and the Thebans declared friends and allies of the king. Leon, Timagoras's collegue said loud enough to be heard by Artaxerxes, Athens has nothing now to

do but to find some other ally.

Pelopidas, having obtained all he defired, left the court, without accepting any more of the king's many prefents, than what was necessary to carry home as a token of his favour and good will; and this aggravated the complaints which were made against the other Grecian ambassadors, who were not so reserved and delicate in point of interest. One of those from the Arcadians said on his return home, that he had seen many slaves at the king's court, but no men. He added, that all his magnificence was no more than vain oftentation, and that the so much boassed * Plantain of gold, which was valued at so high a price, had not shade enough under it for a grass-hopper.

Of all the deputies, Timagoras had received the most presents. He did not only accept of gold and silver, but of a magnificent bed, and slaves to make it, the Greeks not seeming to him expert enough in that office; which shews that sloth and luxury were little in fashion at Athens. He received also twenty-

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four cows, with flaves to take care of them; as having occasion to drink milk for some indisposition. Lastly, at his departure, he was carried in a chair to the sea-side at the king's expence, who gave four talents (s) for that service. His collegue Leon, on their arrival at Athens, accused him of not having communicated any thing to him, and of having joined with Pelopidas in every thing. He was brought to a trial in consequence, and condemned to suffer death.

It does not appear, that the acceptance of prefents incenfed the Athenians most against Timagoras. Epicrates, a fimple porter, who had been at the Perfian court, and had also received presents, having said, in a full affembly, that he was of opinion a decree ought to pass, by which, instead of the nine Archons annually elected, nine ambaffadors should be chosen out of the poorest of the people to be fent to the king, in order to their being enriched by the voyage; the affembly only laughed, and made a jest of it. But what offended them more, was the Thebans having obtained all they demanded. In which, fays Plutarch, they did not duly confider the great reputation of Pelopidas, nor comprehend how much stronger and more efficacious that was in perfuading, than all the harangues and rhetorical flourishes of the other ambaffadors; especially with a prince, accustomed to carefs, and comply with, the strongest, as the Thebans undoubtedly were at that time, and who besides was not forry to humble Sparta and Athens, the antient and mortal enemies of his throne.

The esteem and regard of the Thebans for Pelopidas were not a little augmented by the good success of this embassy, which had procured the freedom of Greece, and the re-establishment of Messen; and he was extremely applauded for his conduct at his return.

But Thessalia was the theatre, where the valour of Pelopidas made the greatest figure, in the expedition

⁽s) Four thousand crowns.

of the Thebans against Alexander tyrant of Pheræ. I shall relate it entire, and unite in one point of view all which relates to that great event, without any other interruption than the journey of Pelopidas into Macedonia, to appease the troubles of that court.

SECT. VI. Pelopidas marches against Alexander tyrant of Pheræ, and reduces him to reason. He goes to Macedonia, to appease the troubles of that court, and brings Philip to Thebes as an hostage. He returns into Thessaly, is seized by treachery, and made a prisoner. Epaminondas delivers him. Pelopidas gains a victory against the tyrant, and is killed in the battle. Extraordinary honours paid to his memory. Tragical end of Alexander.

(t) THE reduced condition of Sparta and Athens, which for many years had lorded it over all Greece, either in conjunction or separately, had inspired fome of their neighbours with the defire of fupplanting those cities, and given birth to the hope of fucceeding them in the pre-eminence. A power had rose up in Thessaly, which began to grow formidable. Jason, tyrant of Pheræ, had been declared generaliffimo of the Thessalians by the consent of the people of that province; and it was to his merit, univerfally known, he owed that dignity. He was at the head of an army of above eight thousand horse, and twenty thoufand heavy-armed foot, without reckoning the lightarmed foldiers, and might have undertaken any thing with fuch a body of disciplined and intrepid troops, who had an entire confidence in the valour and conduct of their general. But death prevented his defigns. He was affaffinated by persons who had conspired his

His two brothers, Polydorus and Polyphron, were fubstituted in his place, the latter of whom killed the other for the fake of reigning alone, and was soon

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⁽t) Xenoph. 1. 6. p. 579—583 & 598—601. Diod. 1. 15. p. 371 —373. A. M. 3634. Ant. J. C. 370.

after killed himself by Alexander of Pheræ (u) who seized the tyranny, under the pretence of revenging the death of Polydorus his father. Against him Pe-

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As the tyrant made open war against several people of Theffaly, and was fecretly intriguing to subject them all, the citizens fent ambassadors to Thebes to demand troops and a general. Epaminondas being employed in Peloponnesus, Pelopidas took upon himfelf the charge of this expedition. He fet out for Thesfaly with an army, made himself master of Larissa, and obliged Alexander to make his submission to him. He there endeavoured by mild usage and friendfhip to change his disposition, and from a tyrant, to make him become a just and humane prince; but finding him incorrigible, and of unexampled brutality, and hearing new complaints every day of his cruelty, debauched life, and infatiable avarice, he began to treat him with warm reproofs and menaces. The tyrant, alarmed at fuch usage, withdrew fecretly with his guard; and Pelopidas, leaving the Theffalians in fecurity from any attempts of his, and in good understanding with each other, set out for Macedonia, where his prefence had been defired.

Amyntas II. was lately dead, and had left iffue three legitimate children, Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip, and one natural fon, called Ptolemy. Alexander reigned but one year, and was succeeded by * Perdiccas, with whom his brother Ptolemy disputed the crown. The two brothers invited Pelopidas either to be the arbitrator and judge of their quarrel, or to espouse the side on which he should see most right.

Pelopidas was no sooner arrived, than he put an

lexander's death, which I shall relate in the history of Philip. As Æschines was their cotemporary, I thought it proper to substitute Perdiccas to Alexander.

⁽u) A. M. 3635. Ant. J. C. 369.

^{*} Plutarch makes this quarrel between Alexander and Ptolemy, which cannot agree with Æschines's account (de fals. legat. p. 400) of the affairs of Perdiccas after A-

end to all disputes, and recalled those who had been banished by either party. Having taken Philip, the brother of Perdiccas, and thirty other children of the noblest families of Macedonia for hostages, he carried them to Thebes; to shew the Greeks how far the authority of the Thebans extended, from the reputation of their arms, and an entire confidence in their justice and fidelity. It was this Philip, who was father of Alexander the Great, and afterwards made war as ainst the Greeks to subject them to his power.

The troubles and factions arose again in Macedonia fome years after, occasioned by the death of Perdiccas, who was killed in a battle. The friends of the deceased called in Pelopidas. Being desirous to arrive before Ptolemy had time to execute his projects, who made new efforts to establish himself upon the throne; and not having an army, he raifed fome mercenary troops in hafte, with whom he marched against Ptolemy. When they were near each other, Ptolemy found means to corrupt those mercenary foldiers by presents of money, and to bring them over to his side, At the fame time awed by the reputation and name of Pelopidas, he went to meet him as his fuperior and master, had recourse to caresses and entreaties, and promifed in the most solemn manner to hold the crown only as guardian to the fon of the deceafed, to acknowledge as friends and enemies all those who were fo to the Thebans; and in fecurity of his engagements, he gave his fon Philoxenus and fifty other children, who were educated with him, as hostages. These Pelopidas sent to Thebes.

The treachery of the mercenary foldiers ran very much in his thoughts. He was informed, that they had fent the greatest part of their effects, with their w ves and children, into the city * Pharfalus, and conceived that a fair opportunity for being revenged of them for their perfidy. He therefore drew together fome Thessalian troops, and marched to Pharfalus,

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^{*} A city of Thefaly.

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where he was scarce arrived, before Alexander the tyrant came against him with a powerful army. Pelopidas, who had been appointed ambassador to him, believing that he came to justify himself, and to answer the complaints of the Thebans, went to him with only Ismenias in his company, without any precaution. He was not ignorant of his being an impious wretch, as void of faith as of honour; but he imagined, that respect for Thebes, and regard to his dignity and reputation, would prevent him from attempting any thing against his person. He was mistaken; for the tyrant, seeing them alone and unarmed, made them both prisoners, and seized Pharsalus.

Polybius exceedingly blames the imprudence of Pelopidas upon this occasion (x). There is in the commerce of society, says he, certain assurances, and as it were ties, of mutual faith, upon which one may reasonably rely: Such are the sanctity of oaths, the pledge of wives and children delivered as hostages, and above all, the consistency of the past conduct of those with whom one treats: When, notwithstanding these motives for our confidence, we are deceived, it is a missortune, but not a fault: But to trust one's felf to a known traitor, a reputed villain, is certainly an unpardonable instance of error and temerity.

(y) So black a perfidy filled Alexander's subjects with terror and distrust, who very much suspected, that after so flagrant an injustice, and so daring a crime, the tyrant would spare no body, and would look upon himself upon all occasions, and with all forts of people, as a man in despair, that needed no farther regard to his conduct and actions. When the news was brought to Thebes, the Thebans, incensed at so vile an insult, immediately sent an army into Thessaly; and as they were displeased with Epaminondas, upon the groundless suspection of his having been too favourable to the Lacedæmonians upon a certain oc-

⁽x) Lib. 8. p. 512. (y) Plut. in Pelop. p. 292, 293. Diod. 1. 15. 382, 383.

casion, they nominated other generals; so that he ferved in this expedition only as a private man. The love of his country and of the public good extinguished all resentment in the heart of that great man, and would not permit him, as is too common, to abandon its service through any pique of honour, or

personal discontent.

The tyrant however carried Pelopidas to Pheræ. and made a shew of him to all the world at first. imagining that fuch a treatment would humble his pride, and abate his courage. But Pelópidas, feeing the inhabitants of Pheræ in great consternation, perpetually confoled them, advising them not to despair, and affuring them that it would not be long before the tyrant would be punished. He caused him to be told, that it was as imprudent as unjust to torture and put to death every day so many innocent citizens, that had never done him any wrong, and to spare his life, who, he well knew, would no fooner be out of his hands, than he would punish him as his crimes de-The tyrant, aftonished at his greatness of foul, fent to ask him why he took so much pains for death: It is, returned the illustrious prisoner, that thou mayest perish the sooner, by being still more detestable to the gods and men.

From that time the tyrant gave orders that nobody should see or speak to him. But Thebé his wise, the daughter of Jason who had also been tyrant of Pheræ, having heard of the constancy and courage of Pelopidas from those who guarded him, had a curiosity to see and converse with him; and Alexander could not resuse her his permission (y). He loved her tenderly, (if a tyrant may be said to love any body:) but notwithstanding that tenderness, he treated her very cruelly, and was in perpetual distrust even of her. He never went to her apartment without a slave before him with a naked sword in his hand, and sending some of his guard to search every coffer for concealed po-

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⁽y) Cic. de offic. l. 2. n. 25.

niards. Wretched prince, cries Cicero, who could confide more in a flave and a Barbarian, than in his

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Thebé therefore defiring to see Pelopidas, found him in a melancholy condition, dres'd in a poor habit, his hair and beard neglected, and void of every thing that might confole him in his diffress. Not being able to refrain from tears at fuch a fight, Ab unfortunate Pelopidas, said she, how I lament your poor wife! No Thebé, replied he, it is yourself you should lament, who can suffer such a monster as Alexander without being his prisoner. Those words touched Thebé to the quick; for it was with extreme reluctance she bore the tyrant's cruelty, violence, and infamous way of living. Hence going often to fee Pelopidas, and frequently bewailing before him the injuries the fuffered, the daily conceived new abhorrence for her hufband, whilft hatred and the defire of revenge grew strong in her heart.

The Theban generals, who had entered Thesfaly, did nothing there of any importance, and were obliged, by their incapacity and ill conduct, to abandon the country. The tyrant pursued them in their retreat, harraffed them shamefully, and killed abundance of their troops. The whole army had been defeated, if the foldiers had not obliged Epaminondas, who served as a private man amongst them, to take upon him the command. Epaminondas, at the head of the cavalry and light-armed foot, posted himself in the rear; where, fometimes fustaining the enemy's attacks, and fometimes charging them in his turn, he compleated the retreat with success, and preserved the Bœotians. The generals upon their return were each of them fined ten thousand drachma's *, and Epaminondas substituted in their place. As the public good was his fole view, he overlooked the injurious treatment and kind of affront which he had received, and had a full amends in the

^{*} About 225 l. Sterling.

glory that attended so generous and disinterested a conduct.

Some days after, he marched at the head of the army into Theffaly; whither his reputation had preceded him. It had spread already both terror and joy through the whole country; terror amongst the tyrant's friends, whom the very name of Epaminondas dismayed, and joy amongst the people, from the affurance of being speedily delivered from the yoke of the tyranny, and the tyrant punished for all his crimes. But Epaminondas, preferring the fafety of Pelopidas to his own glory, instead of carrying on the war with vigour, as he might have done, chose rather to protract it; from the apprehension, that the tyrant, if reduced to despair, like a wild beast, would turn his whole rage upon his prisoner. For he knew the violence and brutality of his nature, which would hearken neither to reason nor justice; and that he took delight in burying men alive; that some he covered with the skins of bears and wild boars, that his dogs might tear them in pieces, or he shoot them to death with arrows. These were his frequent sports and diversions. In the cities of Melibœa and Scotufa*, which were in alliance with him, he called an affembly of the citizens, and causing them to be surrounded by his guards, he ordered the throats of all their youth to be cut in his presence.

Hearing one day a famous actor perform a part in the Troades of Euripides, he suddenly went out of the theatre, and sent to the actor to tell him, not to be under any apprehension upon that account; for that his leaving the place was not from any discontent in regard to him, but because he was ashamed to let the citizens see him weep the missortunes of Hercules and Andromache, who had cut so many of their throats

without any compassion.

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^{*} Cities of Magnesia,

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arrival of Epaminondas, and dazzled with the majesty that furrounded him, he made hafte to dispatch perfons to him with apologies for his conduct. Epaminondas could not fuffer that the Thebans should make either peace or alliance with fo wicked a man. only granted him a truce for thirty days, and after having got Pelopidas and Ismenias out of his hands,

he retired with his troops.

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(a) Fear is not a master whose lessons make any deep and lasting impression upon the mind of man. The tyrant of Pheræ foon returned to his natural difposition. He ruined several cities of Thessaly, and put garrisons into those of Phthia, Achæa, and Magne-Those cities fent deputies to Thebes to demand a fuccour of troops, praying that the command of them might be given to Pelopidas; which was granted. He was upon the point of fetting out, when there happened a fudden eclipse of the fun, by which the city of Thebes was darkened at noon day. The dread and consternation was general. Pelopidas knew very well that this accident had nothing more than natural in it; but he did not think it proper for him to expose seven thousand Thebans against their will, nor to compel them to march in the terror and apprehension with which he perceived they were He therefore gave himself to the Thesfalians alone, and taking with him three hundred horse of such Thebans and strangers as would follow him, he departed contrary to the prohibition of the foothfayers, and the opinion of the most wife and judicious.

He was perfonally incenfed against Alexander, in refentment of the injuries he had received from him. What Thebé his wife had faid, and he himfelf knew, of the general discontent in regard to the tyrant, gave him hopes of finding great divisions in his court, and an universal disposition to revolt. But his strongest motive was the beauty and grandeur of the action in it-

⁽a) Plut. in Pelop. p. 295-298. Xenoph. l. 6. p. 601.

felf. For his fole defire and ambition was to shew all Greece, that at the same time the Lacedæmonians fent generals and officers to Dionysius the tyrant. and the Athenians on their part were in a manner in the pay of Alexander, to whom they had erected a statue of brass, as to their benefactor, the Thebans were the only people, that declared open war against tyranny, and endeavoured to exterminate from amongst the Greeks all unjust and violent government.

After having affembled his army at Pharfalus, he marched against the tyrant; who, being apprized that Pelopidas had but few Thebans, and knowing that his own infantry was twice as strong as that of the Thessalians, advanced to meet him. Pelopidas being told by fomebody, that Alexander approached with a great army: So much the better, replied he, we shall

beat the greater number.

Near a place called Cynocephalus, there were very high and steep hills, which lay in the midst of the plain. Both armies were in motion to feize that post with their foot, when Pelopidas ordered his cavalry to charge that of the enemy. The horse of Pelopidas broke Alexander's, and whilst they pursued them upon the plain, Alexander appeared suddenly upon the tops of the hills, having outstript the Thessalians; and charging rudely fuch as endeavoured to force those heights and retrenchments, he killed the foremost and repulsed the others, whom their wounds obliged to give way. Pelopidas, feeing this, recalled his horse, and giving them orders to attack the enemy's foot, he took his buckler, and ran to those who fought upon the hills.

He presently made way through his infantry, and passing in a moment from the rear to the front, revived his foldiers vigour and courage in fuch a manner, as made the enemies believe themselves attacked by fresh troops. They supported two or three charges with great resolution: but finding Pelopidas's in. Hell

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fantry continually gained ground, and that his cavalry were returned from the pursuit to support them, they began to give way, and retired flowly, still making head in their retreat. Pelopidas, seeing the whole army of the enemy from the top of the hills, which, though it was not yet actually put to slight, began to break, and was in great disorder, he stopt for some time, looking about every where for Alexander.

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Assoon as he perceived him upon his right wing, rallying and encouraging his mercenary foldiers, he could contain himself no longer, but fired with that view, and abandoning to his fole refentment the care of his life, and the conduct of the battle, he got a great way before his battalions, and ran forwards with all his force, calling upon and defying Alexander. The tyrant made no answer to his defiance, and not daring to wait his coming up, withdrew to hide himfelf amongst his guards. That battalion standing firm for some time, Pelopidas broke the first ranks, and killed the greatest part of the guards upon the spot. The rest continuing the fight at distance, pierced his arms and breast at length with their javelins. Thesfalians, alarmed at the danger in which they saw him, made all the hafte they could from the tops of the hills to his affiftance; but he was fallen. dead when they arrived. The infantry and the Theban horse, returning to the fight against the enemy's main body, put them to flight, and purfued them a great way. The plain was covered with the dead; for more than three thousand of the tyrants troops were killed.

This action of Pelopidas, though it appears the effect of a confummate valour, is inexcusable, and has been generally condemned, because there is no true valour without wisdom and prudence. The greatest courage is cool and sedate. It spares itself where it ought, and exposes itself when occasion makes it necessary. A general ought to see every thing, and to have every thing in his thoughts. To be in a con-

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dition to apply the proper remedy on all occasions, he must not precipitate himself to the danger of being cut off, and of causing the loss of his army by his his death.

- (b) Euripides, after having faid in one of his pieces, that it is highly glorious for the general of an army to obtain the victory by taking care of his own life, adds, that if it be necessary for him to die, it must be when he resigns his life into the hands of virtue; to signify that only virtue, not passion, anger, or revenge, has a right over the life of a general, and that the first duty of valour is to preserve him who preserves others.
- (c) It is in this fense the saying of Timotheus is so just and estimable. When Chares shewed the Athenians the wounds he had received whilst he was their general, and his shield pierced through with a pike:

 And for me, said Timotheus, when I besieged Samos, I was much ashamed to see a dart fall very near me, as having exposed myself like a young man without necessity, and more than was consistent for the general of so great an army. Hannibal certainly cannot be suspected of sear, and yet it has been observed, that in the great number of battles which he sought, he never received any wound, except only at the siege of Saguntum.

It is therefore not without reason, that Pelopidas is reproached with having facrificed all his other virtues to his valour by such a prodigality of his life, and with having died rather for himself than his country.

Never was captain more lamented than him. His death changed the victory so lately gained into mourning. A profound silence and universal affliction reigned throughout the whole army, as if it had been entirely deseated. When his body was carried to Thebes, from every city by which it passed, the people of all ages and sexes, the magistrates and priests, came out to meet the bier, and to march in procession before it,

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⁽b) Plut. in Pelop. p. 317. (c) Ibid. 278.

carrying crowns, trophies, and armour of gold. The Thessalians, who were at the same time highly afflicted for his death, and equally sensible of their obligations to him, made it their request, that they might be permitted to celebrate at their sole expence the obsequies of a general, who had devoted himself for their preservation; and that honourable privilege could not be resulted to their grateful zeal.

His funeral was magnificent, especially in the sincere affliction of the Thebans and Thessalians. For, says Plutarch, the external pomp of mourning, and those marks of sorrow, which may be imposed by the public authority upon the people, are not always certain proofs of their real sentiments. The tears which slow in private as well as public, the regret expressed equally by great and small, the praises given by the general and unanimous voice to a person who is no more, and from whom nothing farther is expected, are an evidence not to be questioned, and an homage never paid but to virtue. Such were the obsequies of Pelopidas, and in my opinion, nothing more great and magnificent could be imagined.

Thebes was not contented with lamenting Pelopidas, but refolved to avenge him. A fmail army of feven thousand foot and seven hundred horse were immediately sent against Alexander. The tyrant, who had not yet recovered the terror of his defeat, was in no condition to defend himself. He was obliged to restore to the Thessalians the cities he had taken from them, to give the Magnesians, Phthians, and Achæans their liberty, to withdraw his garrisons from their country, and to swear that he would always obey the Thebans, and march at their orders against all their

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Such a punishment was very gentle. Nor, fays Plutarch, did it appear sufficient to the gods, or proportioned to his crimes: they had reserved one for him worthy of a tyrant. Thebé his wife, who saw with horror and detestation the cruelty and persidy of

her husband, and had not forgot the lessons and advice which Pelopidas had given her, whilst in prison, entered into a conspiracy with her three brothers to kill him. The tyrant's whole palace was full of guards, who kept watch in the night; but he placed little considence in them, and as his life was in some fort in their hands, he feared them the most of all men. He lay in a high chamber, to which he ascended by a ladder that was drawn up after his entrance. Near this chamber a great dog was chained to guard it. He was exceeding sierce, and knew no body but his master, Thebé, and the slave who sed him.

The time pitched upon for the execution of the plot being arrived, Thebé shut up her brothers during the day time, in an apartment near the tyrant's. When he entered it at night, as he was full of meat and wine, he fell into a deep fleep immediately. Thebé went out presently after, and ordered the flave to take away the dog, that he might not diffurb her husband's repose; and least the ladder should make a noise when her brothers came up by it, she covered the steps of it with wool. All things being thus prepared, she made her brothers ascend, armed with daggers; who, when they came to the door, were feized with terror, and would go no further. Thebe, quite out of her wits, threatened to awake the tyrant if they did not proceed immediately, and to discover the plot to him. Their shame and fear re-animated them: she made them enter, led them to the bed, and held the lamp herself, whilst they killed him with repeated wounds. The news of his death was immediately spread through the city. His dead body was exposed to all fort of outrages, trampled under foot by the people, and given for a prey to the dogs and vultures; a just reward for his violent oppressions and detestable cruelties.

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(d) A Plut, in SECT. VII. Epaminondas is chosen general of the Thebans. His second attempt against Sparta. His celebrated victory at Mantinea. His death and character.

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(d) THE extraordinary prosperity of Thebes was no small subject of alarm to the neighbouring states. Every thing was at that time in motion in Greece. A new war had sprung up between the Arcadians and the Eleans, which had occasioned another between the Arcadians themselves. The people of Tegea had called in the Thebans to their aid, and those of Mantinea, the Spartans and Athenians. There were besides several other allies on each side. The former gave Epaminondas the command of their troops, who immediately entered Arcadia, and encamped at Tegea, with design to attack the Mantineans, who had quitted their alliance with Thebes to attach themselves to Sparta.

Being informed that Agesilaus had begun his march with his army, and advanced towards Mantinea, he formed an enterprize, which, he believed, would immortalize his name, and entirely reduce the power of the enemy. He left Tegea in the night with his army, unknown to the Mantineans, and marched directly to Sparta by a different rout from that of Agesilaus. He would undoubtedly have taken the city by surprize, as it had neither walls, defence nor troops: But happily for Sparta, a Cretan having made all possible haste to apprize Agesilaus of his design, he immediately dispatched one of his horse to advise the city of the danger that threatened it, and arrived there soon after in person.

He had scarce entered the town, when the Thebans were seen passing the Eurotas, and coming on against the city. Epaminondas, who perceived that his design was discovered, thought it incumbent on

⁽d) A. M. 3641. Ant. J. C. 363. Xenoph, I. 7. p. 642—644. Plut, in Agefil. p. 615. Diod. p. 391, 392.

him not to retire without fome attempt. (e) He therefore made his troops advance, and making use of valour instead of stratagem, he attacked the city at feveral quarters, penetrated as far as the public place, and feized that part of Sparta which lay upon the fide of the river. Agefilaus made head every where, and defended himself with much more valour than could be expected from his years. He faw well, that it was not now a time, as before, to spare himself, and to act only upon the defensive; but that he had need of all his courage and daring, and to fight with all the vigour of despair; means, which he had never used, nor placed his confidence in before, but which he employed with great fuccess in the present dangerous emergency. For by this happy despair and prudent audacity, he in a manner fnatched the city out of the hands of Epaminondas. His fon Archidamus, at the head of the Spartan youth, behaved with incredible valour wherever the danger was greatest, and with his fmall troop, stopt the enemy, and made head against them on all sides.

A young Spartan, named Isadas, distinguished himfelf particularly in this action. He was very handfom in the face, perfectly well shaped, of an advantagious stature, and in the flower of his youth. He had neither armour nor cloaths upon his body, which shone with oil, and held a spear in one hand, and a fword in the other. In this condition he guitted his house with the utmost eagerness, and breaking through the press of the Spartans that fought, he threw himfelf upon the enemy, gave mortal wounds at every blow, and laid all at his feet who opposed him, without receiving any hurt himself; whether the enemy were difmayed at so aftonishing a fight, or, fays Plutarch, the gods took pleasure in preserving him upon account of his extraordinary valour. It is faid, the Ephori decreed him a crown after the battle in honour of his exploits, but afterwards fined him a thousand

(e) Polyb. 1. 9. p. 547.

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danger without arms.

Epaminondas having failed of his aim, foreseeing that the Arcadians would certainly hasten to the relief of Sparta, and not being willing to have them with all the Lacedæmonian forces upon his hands at the same time, he returned with expedition to Tegea. The Lacedæmonians and Athenians, with their allies, followed him close in the rear.

(g) That general, confidering his command was upon the point of expiring, that if he did not fight, his reputation might fuffer extremely, and that immediately after his retreat, the enemy would fall upon the Theban allies, and entirely ruin them, he gave orders to his troops to hold themselves in readiness for

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The Greeks had never fought amongst themselves with more numerous armies. The Lacedæmonians consisted of more than twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse; the Thebans, of thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse. Upon the right wing of the former, the Mantineans, Arcadians, and Lacedæmonians were posted in one line; the Eleans and Achæans, who were the weakest of their troops, had the center, and the Athenians alone composed the left wing. In the other army, the Thebans and Arcadians were on the left, the Argives on the right, and the other allies in the center. The cavalry on each side were disposed in the wings.

The Theban general marched in the same order of battle, in which he intended to fight, that he might not be obliged, when he came up with the enemy, to lose in the disposition of his army, a time which

cannot be too much faved in great enterprizes.

He did not march directly, and with his front to the enemy, but in a column upon the hills with his left wing foremost, as if he did not intend to fight that day. When he was over-against them at a quar-

⁽f) Five bundred livres.

ter of a league's distance, he made his troops halt and lay down their arms, as if he designed to encamp there. The enemy in effect were deceived by that stand, and reckoning no longer upon a battle, they quitted their arms, dispersed themselves about the camp, and suffered that ardor to extinguish, which the near approach of a battle is wont to kindle in the hearts of the soldiers.

Epaminondas however by suddenly wheeling his troops to the right, having changed his column into a line, and having drawn out the choice troops, whom he had expressly posted in front upon his march, he made them double their files upon the front of his lest wing, to add to its strength, and to put it into a condition to attack in a point the Lacedæmonian phalanx, which, by the movement he had made, faced it directly. He ordered the center and right wing of his army to move very slow, and to halt before they came up with the enemy, that he might not hazard the event of the battle upon troops, of which he had no great opinion,

He expected to decide the victory by that body of chosen troops, which he commanded in person, and which he had formed in a column to attack the enemy in a point like a galley, says Xenophon. He assured himself, that if he could penetrate the Lace-dæmonian phalanx, in which the enemy's principal force consisted, he should not find it difficult to rout the rest of their army, by charging upon the

right and left with his victorious troops.

But that he might prevent the Athenians in the left wing from coming to the support of their right against his intended attack, he made a detachment of his horse and foot advance out of the line, and posted them upon the rising ground in a readiness to flank the Athenians; as well to cover his right, as to alarm them, and give them reason to apprehend being taken in flank and rear themselves, if they advanced to sustain their right.

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After having disposed his whole army in this manner, he moved on to charge the enemy with the whole weight of his column. They were strangely surprized when they saw Epaminondas advance towards them in this order, and resumed their arms, bridled their horses, and made all the haste they could to their ranks.

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Whilst Epaminondas marched against the enemy, the cavalry that covered his flank on the left, the best at that time in Greece, entirely composed of Thebans and Theffalians, had orders to attack the enemy's horse. The Theban general, whom nothing escaped, had artfully bestowed bowmen, slingers and dartmen, in the intervals of his horse; in order to begin the disorder of the enemy's cavalry, by a previous discharge of a shower of arrows, stones, and javelins, upon them. The other army had neglected to take the fame precaution, and had made another fault, not less considerable, in giving as much depth to the squadrons, as if they had been a phalanx. By this means, their horse were incapable of supporting long the charge of the Thebans. After having made feveral ineffectual attacks with great lofs, they were obliged to retire behind their infantry.

In the mean time, Epaminondas with his body of foot, had charged the Lacedæmonian phalanx. The troops fought on both fides with incredible ardour; both the Thebans and Lacedæmonians being refolved to perish rather than yield the glory of arms to their rivals. They began by fighting with the spear, and those first arms being soon broken in the sury of the combat, they charged each other sword in hand. The resistance was equally obstinate, and the slaughter very great on both sides. The troops despising danger, and desiring only to distinguish themselves by the greatness of their actions, chose rather to die in their ranks, than to lose a step of their ground.

The furious flaughter on both fides having continued a great while without the victory's inclining to either,

either, Epaminondas, to force it to declare for him. thought it his duty to make an extraordinary effort in person, without regard to the danger of his own life. He formed therefore a troop of the bravest and most determinate about him, and putting himself at the head of them, he made a vigorous charge upon the enemy, where the battle was most warm, and wounded the general of the Lacedæmonians with the first javelin he threw. His troop, by his example, having wounded or killed all who stood in their way, broke and penetrated the phalanx. The Lacedæmonians. difmayed by the presence of Epaminondas, and overpowered by the weight of that intrepid party, were reduced to give ground. The gross of the Theban troops, animated by their general's example and fuccess, drove back the enemy upon his right and left, and made a great flaughter of them. But some troops of the Spartans, perceiving that Epaminondas abandoned himself too much to his ardor, suddenly rallied. and returning to the fight, charged him with a shower of javelins. Whilst he kept off part of those darts, shunned some of them, fenced off others, and was fighting with the most heroic valour, to assure the victory to his army, a Spartan, named Callicrates, gave him a mortal wound with a javelin in the breaft across his cuirass. The wood of the javelin being broke off, and the iron head continuing in the wound, the torment was insupportable, and he fell immediately. The battle began around him with new fury, the one fide using their utmost endeavours to take him alive, and the other to fave him. The Thebans gained their point at last, and carried him off, after having put the enemy to flight. They did not purfue them far, and returning immediately, contented themselves with remaining masters of the field and of the dead, without making any advantage of their victory, or undertaking any thing farther, as if they stayed for the orders of their general.

The cavalry, dismayed by the accident of Epami-

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nondas, whom they believed to be dead, and feeming rather vanquished than victorious, neglected to pursue their success in the same manner, and returned to their

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Whilst this passed on the left wing of the Thebans. the Athenian horse attacked their cavalry on the right. But as the latter, besides the superiority of number, had the advantage of being feconded by the light infantry posted in their intervals, they charged the Athenians rudely, and having galled them extremely with their darts, they were broke and obliged to fly. After having dispersed and repulsed them in this manner, instead of pursuing them, they thought proper to turn their arms against the Athenian foot, which they took in flank, put into disorder, and pushed with great vigour. Just as they were ready to turn tail. the general of the Elean cavalry, who commanded a body of referve, feeing the danger of that phalanx, came upon the fpur to its relief, charged the Theban horse, who expected nothing so little, forced them to retreat, and regained from them their advantage. At the fame time, the Athenian cavalry, which had been routed at first, finding they were not pursued, rallied themselves, and instead of going to the affistance of their foot, which was roughly handled, they attacked the detatchment posted by the Thebans upon the heights without the line, and put it to the fword.

After these different movements, and this alternative of losses and advantages, the troops on both sides stood still and rested upon their arms, and the trumpets of the two armies, as if by consent, sounded the retreat at the same time. Each party pretended to the victory, and erected a trophy; the Thebans, because they had deseated the right wing, and remained masters of the sield of battle; the Athenians, because they had cut the detachment in pieces. And from this point of honour, both sides resused at first to ask leave to bury their dead, which, with the antients, was consessing their deseat. The Lacedæmo-

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nians however fent first to demand that permission; after which, the rest had no thoughts but of paying the last duties to the slain.

Such was the event of the famous battle of Mantinea. Xenophon, in his relation of it, recommends the disposition of the Theban troops, and the order of battle, to the reader's attention, which he describes as a man of knowledge and experience in the art of war. And Monsieur Follard, who justly looks upon Epaminondas as one of the greatest generals Greece ever produced, in his description of the same battle, ventures to call it the masterpiece of that great captain.

Epaminondas had been carried into the camp. The furgeons, after having examined the wound, declared that he would expire as foon as the head of the dart was drawn out of it. Those words gave all that were present the utmost forrow and affliction, who were inconfolable on feeing fo great a man about to die, and to die without iffue. For him, the only concern he expressed was about his arms, and the fuccess of the battle. When they shewed him his shield, and affured him that the Thebans had gained the victory; turning towards his friends with a calm and ferene air; "Do not regard," faid he, "this day as "the end of my life, but as the beginning of my happiness, and the completion of my glory. ce leave Thebes triumphant, proud Sparta humbled, and Greece delivered from the yoke of fervitude. " For the rest, I do not reckon that I die without iffue; Leuctra and Mantinea are two illustrious 66 daughters, that will not fail to keep my name alive, and to transmit it to posterity." Having spoke to this effect, he drew the head of the javelin out of his wound, and expired.

It may be truly faid, that the Theban power expired with this great man; whom Cicero * feems to rank above all the illustrious men Greece ever produ-

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^{*} Epaminondas, princeps, meo judicio, Græciæ. Açad. Quæst. 1, 1. n. 4.

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ced. * Justin is of the same opinion, when he says, That as a dart is no longer in a condition to wound when the point of it is blunted; so Thebes, after having lost its general, was no longer formidable to its enemies, and its power seemed to have lost its edge, and to be annihilated by the death of Epaminondas. Before him, that city was not distinguished by any memorable action, and afterwards, it was not samous for its virtues but missortunes, till it sunk into its original obscurity; so that it saw its glory take birth, and expire with this great man.

It has been † doubted, whether he was a more excellent captain or good man. He fought not power for himself, but for his country; and was so persectly void of self-interest, that at his death, he was not worth the expences of his suneral. Truly a philosopher, and poor out of taste, he despised riches, without affecting any reputation from that contempt; and if Justin may be believed, he coveted glory as little as he did money. It was always against his will that commands were conferred upon him, and he behaved himself in them in such a manner, as did more honour to dignities, than dignities to him.

Though poor himself, and without any estate, his very poverty, by drawing upon him the esteem and confidence of the rich, gave him the opportunity of doing good to others. One of his friends being in great necessity, Epaminondas sent him to a very rich citizen, with orders to ask him for a thousand crowns (b)

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⁽b) A talent.

^{*} Nam ficuti telo, si primam aciem præstregeris, reliquo ferro vim nocendi sustuleris; sic illo velut mucrone teli ablato duce Thebanorum, rei quoque publicæ vires hebetatæ sunt: ut non tam illum amissise, quam cum illo omnes interisse viderentur. Nam neque hunc ante ducem ullum memorabile bellum gessere, nec postea virtutibus, sed cladibus, insignes suere: ut manifestum sit, patriæ glore.

niam et natam et extinctam cum eo fuisse. Justin. 1. 6. c. 8.

[†] Fuit incertum, vir melior an dux esset. Nam imperium non sibi semper sed patriæ quæsivit; et pecuniæ adeo parcus suit, ut sumptus suneri desuerit. Gloriæ quoque non cupidior, quam pecuniæ: quippe recusanti omnia imperia ingesta sunt, honoresque ita gestit, ut ornamentum non accipere, sed dare ipsi dignitati videretur. Justin.

in his name. That rich man coming to his house, to know his motives for directing his friend to him upon such an errand; (i) Why, replied Epaminondas, it is because this honest man is in want, and you are rich *.

He had + cultivated those generous and noble fentiments in himself by the study of polite learning and philosophy, which he had made his usual employment and fole delight from his earliest infancy; so that it was furprizing, and a question frequently asked, how, and at what time, it was possible for a man, always bufy amongst books, to attain, or rather seize, the knowledge of the art military in fo great a degree of perfection. Fond of leifure, which he devoted to the study of philosophy, his darling passion, he shunned public employments, and made no interests but to exclude himself from them. His moderation concealed him so well, that he lived obscure, and almost unknown. His merit however discovered him. He was taken from his folitude by force to be placed at the head of armies; and he demonstrated that philofophy, though generally in contempt with those who aspire at the glory of arms, is wonderfully useful in forming heroes. For besides its being a great advance towards conquering the enemy to know how to conquer one's felf, in this school | antiently were taught the great maxims of true policy, the rules of every kind of duty, the motives for a due discharge of them, what we owe our country, the right use of authority, wherein true courage confists; in a word, the qualities that form the good citizen, statesman, and great captain.

He possessed all the ornaments of the mind: he had the talent of speaking in persection, and was well

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militiæ scientia homini inter literas nato. Justin.

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⁽i) Plut. de præcept. reipub. ger. p. 809.

[†] Jam literarum studium, jam philosophiæ doctrina tanta, ut mirabile videretur, unde tam insignis

^{||} The works of Plato, Xenophon, and Aristotle are proofs of this.

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versed in the most sublime sciences. But a modest reserve threw a veil over all those excellent qualities, which still augmented their value, and of which, he knew not what it was to be oftentatious. Spintharus, in giving his character, said, (k) that he never had met with a man, who knew more, and spoke less.

It may be faid therefore of Epaminondas, that he falfified the proverb, which treated the Bœotians as gross and stupid. This was their common * characteristic, and was imputed to the gross air of the country, as the Athenian delicacy of taste was attributed to the subtlety of the air they breathed. Horace says, that to judge of Alexander from his bad taste of poetry, one would swear him a true Bœotian.

Bæotum in crasso jurares aere natum. Epist. I. 1. 2. In thick Bæotian air you'd swear him born.

When Alcibiades was reproached with having little inclination for musick, he thought fit to make this excuse; It is for Thebans † to sing as they do, who know not how to speak. Pindar and Plutarch, who have very little of the soil in them, and who are proofs that genius is of all nations, do themselves condemn the stupidity of their countrymen. Epaminondas did honour to his country, not only by the greatness of his military exploits, but by that sort of merit, which results from elevation of genius, and the study of science.

I shall conclude his portrait and character with a circumstance, that gives place in nothing to all his other excellencies, and which may in some sense be preferred to them, as it expresses a good heart, and a tender and sensible spirit; qualities, very rare amongst the great, but infinitely more estimable than all those splendid attributes, which the vulgar of mankind com-

⁽k) Plut. de audit. p. 39.

^{*} Inter locorum naturas quantum interfit, videmus—Athenis tenue cœlum, ex quo acutiores etiam putantur Attici; crassum

Thebis, itaque pingues Thebani. Cic. de Fato, n. 7.

[†] They were great muficians.

monly gaze at with admiration, and seem almost the only objects worthy either of being imitated or envied. The victory at Leuctra had drawn the eyes and admiration of all the neighbouring people upon Epaminondas, who looked upon him as the support and restorer of Thebes, as the triumphant conqueror of Sparta, as the deliverer of all Greece; in a word, as the greatest man, and the most excellent captain that ever was in the world. In the midst of this universal applause, so capable of making the general of an army forget the man for the victor, Epaminondas little sensible to so affecting and so deserved a glory, (1) My joy, said he, arises from my sense of That, which the news of my victory will give my father and my mother.

Nothing in history seems so valuable to me as such sentiments, which do honour to human nature, and proceed from a heart, which neither false glory, nor false greatness have corrupted. I confess it is with grief, I see these noble sentiments daily expire amongst us, especially in persons, whose birth and rank raise them above others, who, too frequently, are neither good fathers, good sons, good husbands, nor good friends, and who would think it a disgrace to them to express for a father and mother the tender regard, of which we have here so fine an example from a

pagan.

'Till Epaminondas's time, two cities had exercifed alternately a kind of empire over all Greece. The justice and moderation of Sparta had at first acquired it a distinguished preheminence, which the pride and haughtiness of its generals, and especially of Pausanias, soon lost it. The Athenians, till the Peloponnesian war, held the first rank, but in a manner scarce discernible in any other respect, than their care in acquitting themselves worthily, and in giving their inferiors just reason to believe themselves their equals. They judged at that time, and very justly, that the

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⁽¹⁾ Plut. in Coriol. p. 215.

true method of commanding, and of continuing their power, was to evidence their superiority only by fervices and benefactions. Those times, so glorious for Athens, were of about forty five years continuance, and they retained a part of that preheminence during the twenty feven years of the Peloponnesian war, which make in all the feventy two, or feventy three years, which Demosthenes gives to the duration of their empire (m): But for this latter space of time. the Greeks, difgusted by the haughtiness of Athens, received no laws from that city without reluctance. Hence the Lacedæmonians became again the arbiters of Greece, and continued fo from the time Lyfander made himself master of Athens, till the first war undertaken by the Athenians, after their re-establishment by Conon, to withdraw themselves and the rest of the Greeks from the tyranny of Sparta, which was now grown more infolent than ever. At length, Thebes disputed the supremacy, and, by the exalted merit of a fingle man, faw itself at the head of all Greece. But that glorious condition was of no long continuance, and the death of Epaminondas, as we have already observed, plunged it again into the obscurity in which he found it.

Demosthenes remarks, in the passage above cited, that the preheminence granted voluntarily either to Sparta or Athens, was a preheminence of honour, not of dominion, and that the intent of Greece was to preserve a kind of equality and independance in the other cities. Hence, says he, when the governing city attempted to ascribe to itself what did not belong to it, and aimed at any innovations contrary to the rules of justice, and established customs, all the Greeks thought themselves obliged to have recourse to arms, and without any motive of personal discontent, to e-

spouse with ardor the cause of the injured.

I shall add here another very judicious reslection from Polybius (n). He attributes the wise conduct of

⁽m) Demost. Philip. 3. p. 89. (n, Polyb. l. 7. p. 488.

the Athenians, in the times I speak of, to the ability of the generals, who were then at the head of their affairs; and he makes use of a comparison, which explains, not unhappily, the character of that people. A veffel without a master, says he, is exposed to great dangers, when every one infifts upon its being steered according to his opinion, and will comply with no other measures. If then a rude storm attacks it, the common danger conciliates and unites them, they abandon themselves to the pilot's skill, and all the rowers doing their duty, the ship is faved, and in a flate of fecurity. But if the tempest ceases, and when the weather grows calm again, the discord of the mariners revives; if they will hearken no longer to the pilot, and some are for continuing their voyage, whilst others resolve to stop in the midst of the course; if on one fide they loofe their fails, and furl them on the other; it often happens, that after having escaped the most violent storms, they are shipwrecked even in the port. This, fays Polybius, is a natural image of the Athenian republic. As long as it suffered itself to be guided by the wife counsels of an Aristides, a Themistocles, a Pericles, it came off victorious, from the greatest dangers. But prosperity blinded and ruined it; following no longer any thing but caprice, and being become too infolent to be advised or governed, it plunged itself into the greatest misfortunes.

SECT. VIII. Death of Evegoras king of Salamin. Nicocles his son succeeds him. Admirable character of that prince.

(a) THE third year of the rouft Olympiad, foon after the Thebans had destroyed Platææ and Thespiæ, as has been observed before, Evagoras, king of Salamin in the isle of Cyprus, of whom much has been said in the preceding volume, was assaffinated by one of his equuchs. His son Nicocles suc-

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ceeded him. He had a fine model before him in the person of his father; and he seemed to make it his duty to be entirely intent upon treading in his steps (p). When he took possession of the throne, he found the public treasures entirely exhausted, by the great expences his father had been obliged to be at in the long war between him and the king of Persia. He knew that the generality of princes, upon like occasions, thought every means just for the re-establishment of their affairs; but for him, he acted upon different principles. In his reign there was no talk of banishment, taxes, and confiscation of estates. The public felicity was his fole object, and justice his favourite virtue. He discharged the debts of the state gradually, not by crushing the people with excessive imposts, but by retrenching all unnecessary expences, and by using a wife economy in the administration of his revenue. (q) " I am affured, faid he, that no citizen can complain that I have done him the least wrong, and I have the fatisfaction to know, that I have enriched many with an unsparing hand." He believed this kind of vanity, if it be vanity, might be permitted in a prince, and that it was glorious for him to have it in his power to make his subjects such a defiance.

(r) He piqued himself also in particular upon another virtue, which is the more admirable in princes, as very uncommon in their fortune; I mean temperance. It is most amiable, but very difficult, in an age and a fortune, to which every thing is lawful, and wherein pleasure, armed with all her arts and attractions, is continually lying in ambush for a young prince, and preventing his desires, to make a long resistance against the violence and infinuation of her soft assaults. Nicocles gloried in having never known any woman besides his wife during his reign, and was amazed that all other contracts of civil society should

⁽p) Isocrat. in Nicoc. p. 64. (q) Ibid. p. 65, 66. (r) Ibid. p. 67.

be treated with due regard, whilft that of marriage, the most facred and inviolable of obligations, was broke through with impunity; and that men should not blush to commit an insidelity in respect to their wives, of which should their wives be guilty, it would throw

them into the utmost anguish and despair.

What I have faid of the justice and temperance of Nicocles, Isocrates puts into that prince's own mouth; and it is not probable that he should make him speak in such a manner, if his conduct had not agreed with such sentiments. It is in a discourse, supposed to be addressed by that king to his people, wherein he describes to them the duties of subjects to their princes; love, respect, obedience, sidelity, and devotion to their service; and to engage them more effectually to the discharge of those duties, he does not distain to give them an account of his own conduct and sentiments.

(s) In another discourse, which precedes this, Isocrates explains to Nicocles all the duties of the fovereignty, and makes excellent reflections upon that subject, of which I can repeat here only a very small part. He begins by telling him that the virtue of private persons is much better supported than his own, by the mediocrity of their condition, by the employment and cares inseparable from it, by the misfortunes to which they are frequently exposed, by their distance from pleasures and luxury, and particularly, by the liberty which their friends and relations have of giving them advice; whereas the generality of princes have none of these advantages. He adds, that a king, who would make himself capable of governing well, ought to avoid an idle and unactive life, should set apart a proper time for business and the public affairs, should form his council of the most able and experienced persons in his kingdom, should endeavour to make himself as much superior to others by his merit and wisdom, as he is by his dignity, and

(s) Isocrat. ad Nicoc.

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especially acquire the love of his subjects, and for that purpose love them fincerely, and look upon himself as their common father. " Perfift, said he, in the " religion you have received from your fore-fathers, " but be affured that the most grateful adoration and " facrifice that you can offer to the Divinity, is that " of the heart, in rendering yourfelf good and just." "Shew upon all occasions so high a regard for " truth, that a fingle word from you, may be " more confided in than the oath of others. Be a " warriour by your ability in military affairs, and by " fuch a warlike provision as may intimidate your " enemies; but let your inclinations be pacific, and " be rigidly exact in never pretending to, or under-" taking any thing unjustly. The only certain proof " that you have reigned well, will be the power of " bearing this testimony to yourself; that your peo-" ple are become both more happy, and more wife, " under your government."

What feems to me most remarkable in this difcourse, is, that the advice which Isocrates gives the king is neither attended with praifes, nor with t'iofe fludied refervations and artificial turns, without which fearful and modest truth dares not venture to approach the throne. This is most worthy of applause, and more for the prince's than for the writer's praise. Nicocles, far from being offended at these counsel, received them with joy; and to express his gratitude to Isocrates, made him a present of twenty talents, that is to fay, twenty thousand crowns (t).

⁽u) Plut. in vit. Ifoc. p. 838.

SECT. IX. Artaxerxes Mnemon undertakes the reduction of Egypt. Iphicrates the Athenian is appointed general of the Athenian troops. The enterprize miscarries by the ill conduct of Pharnabasus the Persian general.

(u) ARTAXERXES, after having given his people a relaxation of several years, had formed the design of reducing Egypt, which had shaken off the Persian yoke long before, and made great preparations for war for that purpose. Achoris, who then reigned in Egypt, and had given Evagoras powerful aid against the Persians, foreseeing the storm, raised abundance of troops of his own subjects, and took into his pay a great body of Greeks, and other auxiliary soldiers, of whom Chabrias had the command (x). He had accepted that office without the authority of the republic.

Pharnabasus, having been charged with this war, fent to Athens to complain that Chabrias had engaged himself to serve against his master, and threatened the republic with the king's resentment, if he was not immediately recalled. He demanded at the same time Iphicrates, another Athenian, who was looked upon as one of the most excellent captains of his time, to give him the command of the body of Greek troops in the service of his master. The Athenians, who had a great interest in the continuance of the king's friendship, recalled Chabrias, and ordered him upon pain of death to repair to Athens by a certain day. Iphicrates was sent to the Persian army.

The preparations of the Persians went on so slowly, that two whole years elapsed before they entered upon action. (y) Achoris king of Egypt died in that time, and was succeeded by Psammuthis, who reigned but a year. Nephreritus was the next, and sour

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(z) Artaxerxes, to draw more troops out of Greece, fent ambassadors thither, to declare to the feveral states, that the king's intent was they should all live in peace with each other conformably to the treaty of Antalcides, that all garrifons should be withdrawn, and all the cities suffered to enjoy their liberty under their respective laws. All Greece received this declaration with pleasure except the Thebans, who refused to conform to it.

(a) At length, every thing being in a readiness for the invasion of Egypt, a camp was formed at Acæ, fince called Ptolemais, in Palestine, the place appointed for the general rendezvous. In a review there, the army was found to confift of two hundred thousand Persians, under the command of Pharnabasus, and twenty thousand Greeks under Iphicrates. ces at sea were in proportion to those at land; their fleet confisting of three hundred galleys, besides two hundred veffels of thirty oars, and a prodigious number of barks to transport the necessary provisions for

the fleet and army.

The army and fleet began to move at the fame time, and that they might act in concert, they feparated The war was to from each other as little as possible. open with the fiege of Pelufium; but fo much time had been given the Egyptians, that Nectanebis had rendered the approach to it impracticable both by fea and land. The fleet therefore, instead of making a descent, as had been projected, failed forwards, and entered the mouth of the Nile called Mendesium. The Nile at that time emptied itself into the sea by feven different channels, of which only two * remain at this day; and at each of those mouths there was a fort with a good garrison to defend the entrance.

⁽x) A. M. 3630. Ant. J. C. 374. Diod. l. 15. p. 355.

⁽a) Diod. p. 358, 359.

^{*} Damietta and Rosetta,

The Mendesium not being so well fortified as that of Pelusium, where the enemy was expected to land, the descent was made with no great difficulty. The fort was carried sword in hand, and no quarter given to those who were found in it.

After this fignal action, Iphicrates thought it advisable to re-imbark upon the Nile without loss of time, and to attack Memphis the capital of Egypt. If that opinion had been followed before the Egyptians had recovered the panic, into which so formidable an invasion and the blow already received had thrown them, they had found the capital without any defence, it had inevitably fallen into their hands, and all Egypt been re-conquered. But the gross of the army not being arrived, Pharnabasus believed it necessary to wait its coming up, and would undertake nothing, till he had re-assembled all his troops; under pretext, that they would then be invincible, and that there would be no

obstacle capable of withstanding them.

Iphicrates, who knew that in affairs of war especially, there are certain favourable and decifive moments, which it is absolutely proper to seize, judged quite differently, and in despair to see an opportunity fuffered to escape, that might never be retrieved, he made pressing instances for permission to go at least with the twenty thousand men under his command. Pharnabasus resused to comply with that demand out of abject jealoufy; apprehending, that if the enterprize fucceeded, the whole glory of the war would redound to Iphicrates. This delay gave the Egyptians time to look about them. They drew all their troops together into a body, put a good garrison into Memphis, and with the rest of their army kept the field, and harrassed the Persians in such a manner, that they prevented their advancing farther into the country. After which came on the inundation of the Nile, which laying all Egypt under water, the Persians were obliged to return into Phœnicia, having first lost ineffectually the best part of their troops.

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Thus this expedition, which had cost immense fums, and for which the preparations alone had given fo much difficulty for upwards of two years, entirely miscarried, and produced no other effect, than an irreconcileable enmity between the two generals, who had the command of it. Pharnabasus, to excuse himfelf, accused Iphicrates of having prevented its success; and Iphicrates, with much more reason, laid all the fault upon Pharnabasus. But well assured that the Persian lord would be believed at his court in preserence to him, and remembering what had happened to Conon, to avoid the fate of that illustrious Athenian, he chose to retire secretly to Athens in a small vessel which he hired. Pharnabasus caused him to be accused there, of having rendered the expedition against Egypt abortive. The people of Athens made answer, that if he could be convicted of that crime. he should be punished as he deserved. But his innocence was too well known at Athens to give him any disquiet upon that account. It does not appear that he was ever called in question about it; and some time after, the Athenians declared him fole admiral of their fleet.

(b) Most of the projects of the Persian court miscarried by their slowness in putting them in execution. Their generals hands were tied up, and nothing was left to their discretion. They had a plan of conduct in their instructions, from which they did not dare to depart. If any accident happened, that had not been foreseen and provided for, they must wait for new orders from court, and before they arrived, the opportunity was entirely lost. Iphicrates, having observed that Pharnabasus took his resolutions with all the presence of mind and penetration, that could be desired in an accomplished general (c), asked him one day, how it happened that he was so quick in his views, and so slow in his actions: It is,

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⁽b) Diod. p. 358.

⁽c) Ibid. p. 357.

replied Pharnabasus, because my views depend only up. on me, but their execution upon my master.

SECT. X. The Lacedæmonians send Agefilaus to the aid of Tachos, who had revolted from the Persians. The king of Sparta's actions in Egypt. His death. The greatest part of the provinces revolt against Artaxerxes.

(d) A FTER the battle of Mantinea, both parties, A equally weary of the war, had entered into a general peace with all the other states of Greece, upon the king of Persia's plan, by which the enjoyment of its laws and liberties was fecured to each city, and the Messenians included in it, notwithstanding all the opposition and intrigues of the Lacedæmonians to prevent it. Their rage upon this occasion separated them from the other Greeks. They were the only people who resolved to continue the war, from the hope of recovering the whole country of Messenia in a short time. That refolution, of which Agesilaus was the author, occasioned him to be justly regarded as a violent and obstinate man, insatiable of glory and command, who was not afraid of involving the republic again in inevitable misfortunes from the necessity to which the want of money exposed them of borrowing great fums and of levying great imposts, inflead of taking the favourable opportunity of concluding a peace, and of putting an end to all their evils.

(e) Whilst this passed in Greece, Tachos, who had afcended the throne of Egypt, drew together as many troops as he could, to defend himfelf against the king of Persia, who meditated a new invasion of Egypt, notwithstanding the ill success of his past endeavours

to reduce that kingdom.

For this purpose, Tachos sent into Greece, and obtained a body of troops from the Lacedæmonians,

(d) Plut. in Agefil. p. 616-618. Diod. l. 15. p. 397-401. (e) A. M. 3641. Ant. J. C. 363. Xenoph, de reg. Agefil. p. 663.

Cor. Nep. in Agefil. c. 8.

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with Agefilaus to command them, whom he promifed to make generalissimo of his army. The Lacdæmonians were exasperated against Artaxerxes, from his having forced them to include the Messenians in the late peace, and were fond of taking this occasion to express their refentment. Chabrias went also into the fervice of Tachos, but of his own head, and without the republic's participation.

This commission did Agesilaus no honour. It was thought below the dignity of a king of Sparta, and a great captain, who had made his name glorious throughout the world, and was then more than eighty years old, to receive the pay of an Egyptian, and to serve a Barbarian, who had revolted against his master.

When he landed in Egypt, the king's principal generals, and the great officers of his house, came to his ship to receive, and make their court to him. The rest of the Egyptians were as follicitous to fee him from the great expectation which the name and renown of Agefilaus had excited in them, and came in multitudes to the shore for that purpose. But when instead of a great and magnificent prince, according to the idea his exploits had given them of him, they faw nothing splendid or majestic either in his person or equipage, and faw only an old man of a mean aspect and small body, without any appearance, and dreft in a bad robe of very coarfe stuff, they were seized with an immoderate disposition to laugh, and applied the fable of the mountain in labour to him.

When he met king Tachos, and had joined his troops with those of Egypt, he was very much furprized at not being appointed general of the whole army, as he expected, but only of the foreign troops; that Chabrias was made general of the fea-forces, and that Tachos retained the command in chief to himfelf, which was not the only mortification he had to

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Tachos came to a refolution to march into Phœnicia, thinking it more adviseable to make that country the

the feat of the war, than to expect the enemy in Egypt. Agefilaus, who knew better, represented to him in vain, that his affairs were not sufficiently established to admit his removing out of his dominions: that he would do much better to remain in them. and content himself with acting by his generals in the enemy's country. Tachos despised this wife counsel, and expressed no less disregard for him on all other occasions. Agefilaus was so much incensed at such conduct, that he joined the Egyptians, who had taken arms against him during his absence, and had placed Nectanebis his * cousin upon the throne. Agefilaus, abandoning the king, to whose aid he had been fent, and joining the rebel, who had dethroned him, alledged in justification of himself, that he was sent to the affistance of the Egyptians; and that they, having taken up arms against Tachos, he was not at liberty to serve against them without new orders from Sparta. He dispatched expresses thither, and the instructions he received, were to act as he should judge most advantagious for his country. He immediately declared for Nectanebis. Tachos, obliged to quit Egypt, retired to Sidon, from whence he went to the court of Persia. Artaxerxes not only forgave him his fault, but added to his clemency the command of his troops against the rebels.

Agesilaus covered so criminal a conduct with the veil of the public utility. But, says Plutarch, remove that delusive blind, the most just and only true name, which can be given the action, is that of persidy and treason. It is true, the Lacedæmonians, making the Glorious and the Good consist principally in the service of their country, which they idolized, knew no other justice than what tended to the augmentation of the grandeur of Sparta, and the extending of its dominions. I am surprized so judicious an author as Xenophon should endeavour to palliate a conduct of this kind, by saying only, that Agesilaus attached

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^{*} Diodorus calls bim bis fon ; Plutarch, bis cousin.

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At the same time, a third prince of the city of Mendes fet up for himself, to dispute the crown with Nectanebis. This new competitor had an army of an hundred thousand men to support his pretensions. Agefilaus gave his advice to attack them, before they were exercifed and disciplined. Had that counsel been followed, it had been easy to have defeated a body of people, raised in haste, and without any experience in war. But Nectanebis imagined, that Agefilaus only gave him this advice to betray him in confequence, as he had done Tachos. He therefore gave his enemy time to discipline his troops, who soon after reduced him to retire into a city, fortified with good walls, and of very great extent. Agefilaus was obliged to follow him thither; where the Mendefian prince belieged them. Nectanebis would then have attacked the enemy before his works which were begun were advanced, and pressed Agesilaus to that purpose; but he refused his compliance at first, which extremely augmented the suspicions conceived of him. At length, when he faw the work in a sufficient forwardness, and that there remained only as much ground between the two ends of the line, as the troops within the city might occupy, drawn up in battle, he told Nectanebis, that it was time to attack the enemy, that their own lines would prevent their furrounding him, and that the interval between them was exactly the space he wanted, for ranging his troops in fuch a manner, as they might all act together effectively. The attack was executed according to Agefilaus's expectation; the besiegers were beaten, and from thenceforth Agefilaus conducted all the operations of the war with fo much success, that the enemy prince was always overcome, and at last taken prisoner.

(f) The following winter, after having well esta-

⁽f) A. M. 3643. Ant. J. C. 361.

blished Nectanebis, he embarked to return for Lacedæmon, and was driven by contrary winds upon the coast of Africa, into a place called the port of Menelaus, where he fell fick and died, at the age of fourscore and four years. He had reigned forty one of them at Sparta, and of those forty one, he had paffed thirty with the reputation of the greatest, and most powerful of all the Greeks, and had been looked upon, as the leader and king of almost all Greece, till the battle of Leuctra. His latter years did not entirely support the reputation he had acquired; and Xenophon, in his elogium of this prince, wherein he gives him the preference to all other captains, has been found to exaggerate his virtues, and extenuate his faults too much. ta a boft synapt dierord hooz b

The body of Agefilaus was carried to Sparta, Those who were about him not having honey, with which it was the Spartan cuftom to cover the bodies they would embalm, made use of wax in its stead. His fon Archidamus succeeded to the throne, which continued in his house down to Agis, who was the

fifth king of the line of Agefilaus.

Towards the end of the Egyptian war, the greatest part of the provinces, in subjection to Persia, revolted.

Artaxerxes Mnemon had been the involuntary occasion of this defection. That prince, of himself, was good, equitable, and benevolent. He loved his people, and was beloved by them. He had abundance of mildness, and sweetness of temper in his character; but that easiness degenerated into sloth and luxury, and particularly in the latter years of his life, in which he discovered a dislike for all business and application, from whence, the good qualities, which he otherwise possessed, as well as his beneficent intentions, became useless, and without effect. The nobility and governours of provinces, abufing his favour, and the infirmities of his great age, oppressed the people, treated them with infolence and cruelty, loaded them with

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The discontent became general, and broke out, after long fuffering, almost at the same time on all fides. Afia minor, Syria, Phœnicia, and many other provinces declared themselves openly, and took up arms. The principal leaders of the conspiracy were Ariobarzanes prince of Phrygia, Maufolus king of Caria, Orontes governour of Mysia, and Autophradates governour of Lydia. Datames, of whom mention has been made before, and who commanded in Cappadocia, was also engaged in it. By this means, half the revenues of the crown were on a fudden diverted into different channels, and the remainder did not fuffice for the expences of a war against the revolters, had they acted in concert. But their union was of no long continuance, and those, who had been the first, and most zealous in shaking off the roke, were also the foremost in resuming it, and in betraying the interests of the others, to make their peace with the king. with the court of the

The provinces of Asia minor, on withdrawing from their obedience, had entered into a confederacy for their mutual defence, and had chosen Orontes governour of Mysia for their general. They had also resolved to add twenty thousand foreign troops to those of the country, and had charged the same Orontes with the care of raising them. But when he had got the money for that service into his hands, with the addition of a year's pay, he kept it for himself, and delivered to the king the persons who had brought it

from the revolted provinces.

Rheomithras, another of the chiefs of Asia minor, being sent into * Egypt to negociate succours, committed a treachery of a like nature. Having brought from that country sive hundred talents and sifty ships of war, he assembled the principal revolters at Leucas,

^{*} Diodorus says be was sent to Tachos, but it is more likely that it was to Nectanehis.

a city of Asia minor, under pretence of giving then his word an account of his negotiation, seized them all, deliabominable vered them to the king to make his peace, and kept Persia, the money he had received in Egypt for the consederation.

Thus this formidable revolt, which had brought them. the Persian empire to the very brink of ruin, dissolvereat, an ved of itself, or to speak more properly, was suffernuch, pended for fome time.

SECT. XI. Troubles at the court of Artaxerxes concerning his successor. Death of that prince.

(g) THE end of Artaxerxes's reign abounded with cabals. The whole court were divided into factions in favour of one or other of his fons, who pretended to the succession. He had an hundred and fifty by his concubines, who were in number three hundred and fixty, and three by his lawful wife Atoffa; Darius, Ariaspes, and Ochus. To put a stop to these practices, he declared Darius the eldest, his succeffor. And to remove all cause of disputing that prince's right after his death, he permitted him to affume from thenceforth the title of king, and to wear the royal * Tiara. But the young prince was for having fomething more real. Besides which, the refusal of Artaxerxes to give him one of his concubines, whom he had demanded, had extremely incenfed him, and he formed a conspiracy against his father's life, wherein he engaged fifty of his brothers.

It was Tiribasus, of whom mention has been made feveral times in the preceding volume, who contributed the most to his taking so unnatural a resolution, from a like subject of discontent against the king; who, having promised to give him first one of his daughters in marriage, and then another, broke

also plumes of feathers, which they wore aslant, and before. All others wore them ofant, and behind.

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⁽g) Plut. in Artaxerx. p. 1024-1027. Diod. l. 15. p. 400. Juftin. l. 10. c. 1 & 2.

^{*} This Tiara was a turbant, or kind of bead-dress, with the plume of feathers standing upright upon it. The seven counsellors had

there his word both times, and married them himself: Such deliabominable incests being permitted at that time in d kep Persia, the religion of the nation not prohibiting insede them.

ough The number of the conspirators were already very dissolvered, and the day fixed for the execution, when an surface nunuch, well informed of the whole plot, discovered to the king. Upon that information, Artaxerxes thought it would be highly imprudent to despise so s congreat a danger by neglecting a first enquiry into it; but that it would be much more fo, to give credit to with it without certain and unquestionable proof. He asinto fured himself of it with his own eyes. The conspiwho rators were suffered to enter the king's apartment, d and and then seized. Darius and all his accomplices were

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AtofOp to Three of his brothers were competitors, Ariaspes, such op to Ochus, and Arsames. The two first pretended to that o afthe throne in right of birth, being the fons of the queen. The third had the king's favour, who tenderly loved him, though only the fon of a concubine. Ochus, prompted by his restless ambition, studied perpetually the means to rid himself of both his rivals. As he was equally cunning and cruel, he employed his craft and artifice against Ariaspes, and his cruelty against Arsames. Knowing the former to be extremely fimple and credulous, he made the eunuchs of the palace, whom he had found means to corrupt, threaten him so terribly in the name of the king his father, that expecting every moment to be treated as Darius had been, he poisoned himself to avoid it. After this, there remained only Arfames to give him umbrage, because his father, and all the world, confidered that prince as most worthy of the throne, from his ability and other excellent qualities. Him he caused to be affassinated by Harpates, son of Tiribafus.

This lofs, which followed close upon the other, and the the exceeding wickedness with which both were attended, gave the old king a grief that proved mortal: nor is it surprizing, that at his age, he should not have strength enough to support so great an affiction. (b) He sunk under it into his tomb, after a reign of forty three years, which might have been called happy, if not interrupted by many revolts. That of his successor will be no less disturbed with them.

SECT XII. Causes of the frequent insurrections and revolts in the Persian empire.

I HAVE taken care in relating the seditions, that happened in the Persian empire, to observe from time to time the abuses which occasioned them. But as these revolts were more frequent than ever in the latter years, and will be more so, especially in the succeeding reign, I thought it would be proper to unite here under the same point of view, the different causes of such insurrections, which foretell the

approaching decline of the Persian empire.

I. After the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, the kings of Persia abandoned themselves more and more to the charms of voluptuousness and luxury, and the delights of an indolent and inactive life. Shut up generally in their palaces amongst women, and a crowd of flatterers, they contented themselves with enjoying, in soft effeminate ease and idleness, the pleasure of universal command, and made their grandeur consist in the splendid glare of riches, and an expensive magnificence.

II. They were befides princes of no great talents for the conduct of affairs, of small capacity to govern, and void of taste for glory. Not having a sufficient extent of mind to animate all the parts of so vast an empire, nor ability to support the weight of it, they transferred to their officers the cares of public business, the satigues of commanding armies, and

(b) A. M. 3643. Ant. J. C. 361.

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III. The great offices of the crown, the government of the provinces, the command of armies, were generally bestowed upon people without either service or merit. It was the credit of the favourites, the fecret intrigues of the court, the follicitations of the women of the palace, which determined the choice of the persons, who were to fill the most important posts of the empire; and appropriated the rewards due to the officers who had done the state real service to their

own creatures.

IV. These courtiers, often out of a base, mean jealoufy of the merit, that gave them umbrage and reproached their small abilities, removed their rivals from public employments, and rendered their talents useless to the state. * Sometimes they would even cause their fidelity to be suspected by false informations, bring them to trial, as criminals against the state, and force the king's most faithful fervants, for their defence against their calumniators, to feek their safety in revolting, and in turning those arms against their prince. which they had fo often made triumph for his glory, and the fervice of the empire.

V. The ministers, to hold the generals in dependance, restrained them under such limited orders, as obliged them to let slip the occasions of conquering, and prevented them, by attending new orders, from pushing their advantages. They also often made them responsible for their bad success, after having let them

want every thing necessary to the service.

VI. The kings of Persia had extremely degenerated from the frugality of Cyrus, and the antient Perfians, who contented themselves with cresses and sallads for their food, and water for their drink. whole nobility had been infected with the contagion

^{*} Pharnabasus, Tiribasus, Datames, &c.

of this example. In retaining the fingle meal of their ancestors, they made it last during the greatest part of the day, and prolonged it far into the night by drinking to excess; and far from being ashamed of drunkenness, they made it their glory, as we have

feen in the example of young Cyrus.

VII. The extreme remoteness of the provinces, which extended from the Caspian and Euxine, to the Red-sea and Æthiopia, and from the rivers Ganges and Indus to the Ægean sea, was a great obstacle to the fidelity and affection of the people, who never had the satisfaction to enjoy the presence of their massers; who knew them only by the weight of their taxations, and by the pride and avarice of their Satraps or governors; and who, in transporting themselves to the court, to make their demands and complaints there, could not hope to find access to princes, who believed it contributed to the majesty of their persons to make themselves inaccessible and invisible.

VIII. The multitude of the provinces in subjection to Persia did not compose an uniform empire, nor the regular body of a state, whose members were united by the common ties of interests, manners, language, and religion, and animated with the fame spirit of government, under the guidance of the same laws. was rather a confused, disjointed, tumultuous, and even forced affemblage of different nations, formerly free and independant, of whom some, who were torn from their native countries and the sepulchres of their fore-fathers, faw themselves with pain transported into unknown regions, or amongst enemies, where they persevered to retain their own laws and customs, and a form of government peculiar to themselves. different nations, who not only lived without any common tie or relation amongst them, but with a diversity of manners and worship, and often with antipathy of characters and inclinations, defired nothing so ardently as their liberty, and re-establishment in their own countries. All these people therefore

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were unconcerned for the preservation of an empire, which was the sole obstacle to their so warm and just desires, and could not affect a government, that treated them always as strangers and subjected nations, and never gave them any share in its authority or privileges.

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IX. The extent of the empire, and its remoteness from the court, made it necessary to give the viceroys of the frontier provinces a very great authority in every branch of government; to raise and pay armies; to impose tribute; to adjudge the differences of cities, provinces, and vasial kings; and to make treaties with the neighbouring states. A power so extensive and almost independent, in which they continued many years without being changed, and without collegues or council to deliberate upon the affairs of their provinces, accustomed them to the pleasure of commanding absolutely, and of reigning. In consequence of which, it was with great repugnance they submitted to be removed from their governments, and often endeavoured to support themselves in them by force of arms.

X. The governors of provinces, the generals of armies, and all the other officers and ministers, thought it for their honour to imitate in their equipages, tables, moveables, and habits, the pomp and splendor of the court in which they had been educated. To support so destructive a pride, and to surnish out expences so much above the fortunes of private persons, they were reduced to oppress the subjects under their jurisdiction with exorbitant taxes, flagrant extortions, and the shameful traffic of a public venality, that set those offices to sale for money, which ought to have been granted only to merit. All that vanity lavished, or luxury exhausted, was made good by mean arts, and the violent rapaciousness of an insatiable avarice.

These gross irregularities, and abundance of others, which remained without remedy, and which were daily augmented by impunity, tired the people's patience, and occasioned a general discontent amongst Vol. V.

them, the usual forerunner of the ruin of states. Their just complaints, long time despised, were followed by an open rebellion of several nations, who endeavoured to do themselves that justice by force, which was resulted to their remonstrances. In such a conduct, they failed in the submission and sidelity which subjects owe to their sovereigns; but Paganism did not carry its lights so far, and was not capable of so sublime a persection, which was reserved for a religion that teaches that no pretext, no injustice, no vexation, can ever authorize the rebellion of a people against their prince,

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BOOK THE THIRTEENTH.

SECT. I.

Ochus ascends the throne of Persia. His cruelties.

Revolt of several nations.

HE more the memory of Artaxerxes Mnemon was honoured and revered throughout the whole empire, the more Ochus believed he had reason to fear for himself; convinced, that in fucceeding to him, he should not find the same savourable dispositions in the people and nobility, of whom he had made himself the horror by the murder of his two brothers. (i) To prevent that averfion from occasioning his exclusion, he prevailed upon the eunuchs, and others about the king's person, to conceal his death from the public. He began by taking upon himself the administration of affairs, giving orders, and fealing decrees in the name of Artaxerxes, as if he had been still alive; and by one of those decrees, he caused himself to be proclaimed king throughout the whole empire, always by the order of Artaxerxes. After having governed in this manner almost ten months, believing himself sufficiently established, he at length declared the death of his father, and ascended the throne, taking upon himself the name of Artaxerxes (k). Authors however most frequently give him that of Ochus, by which name I shall generally call him in the sequel of this history.

Ochus was the most cruel and wicked of all the princes of his race, as his actions soon explained. In a very short time the palace and the whole empire

⁽i) Polyæn, Stratag. vii. (k) A. M. 3644, Ant. J. C. 360.

were filled with his murders. (1) To remove from the revolted provinces all means of fetting fome other of the royal family upon the throne, and to rid himfelf at once of all trouble, that the princes and princesses of the blood might occasion him, he put them all to death, without regard to fex, age, or proximity of blood. He caused his own fister Ocha, whose daughter he had married, to be buried alive (m); and having thut up one of his uncles, with an hundred of his fons and grandfons in a court of the palace, he ordered them all to be shot to death with arrows, only because those princes were much esteemed by the Persians for their probity and valour. That uncle is apparently the father of Sifygambis, the mother of Darius Codomannus: (n) For Quintus Curtius tells us, that Ochus had caused fourscore of her brothers with their father to be massacred in one day. He treated with the same barbarity, throughout the whole empire, all those who gave him any umbrage, sparing none of the nobility, whom he suspected of the least discontent whatsoever.

(0) The cruelties, exercifed by Ochus, did not deliver him from inquietude. Artabasus, governor of one of the Asiatic provinces, engaged Chares the Athenian, who commanded a fleet and a body of troops in those parts, to assist him, and with his aid defeated an army of seventy thousand men sent by the king to reduce him. Artabasus, in reward of so great a service, made Chares a present of money to defray the whole expences of his armament. The king of Persia resented exceedingly this conduct of the Athenians in regard to him. They were at that time employed in the war of the assist he king's menace to join their enemies with a numerous army obliged them to recal Chares.

(p) Artabasus, being abandoned by them, had re-

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⁽¹⁾ Justin. l. 10. c. 3. (m) Val. Max. l. 9. c. 2. (n) Quin. Cur. l. 10. c. 5. (e) A. M. 3648. Ant. J. C. 356. Diod. l. 16. P. 433, 434. (p) A. M. 3651. Ant. J. C. 353.

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course to the Thebans, of whom he obtained five thousand men that he took into his pay, with Pammenes to command them. This reinforcement put him into a condition to acquire two other victories over the king's troops. Those two actions did the Theban troops, and their commander, great honour. Thebes must have been extremely incensed against the king of Persia, to send so powerful a succour to his enemies, at a time when that republic was engaged in a war with the Phocæans. It was perhaps an effect of their policy, to render themselves more formidable, and to enhance the price of their alliance. (q) It is certain, that foon after, they made their psace with the king, who paid them three hundred talents, that is to fay, three hundred thousand crowns. Artabasus, destitute of all support, was overcome at last, and obliged to take refuge with Philip in Macedon.

Ochus, being delivered at length from so dangerous an enemy, turned all his thoughts on the side of Egypt, that had revolted long before. About the same time, several considerable events happened in Greece, which have little or no relation with the affairs of Persia. I shall insert them here, after which I shall return to the reign of Ochus, not to interrupt the series of his history.

SECT. II. War of the allies against the Athenians.

(r) SOME few years after the revolt of Asia minor, of which I have been speaking, in the third year of the hundred and siftieth olympiad, Chio, Cos, Rhodes, and Byzantium, took up arms against Athens, upon which till then they had depended. To reduce them, they employed both great forces and great captains, Chabrias, Iphicrates, and Timotheus. * They were the last of the Athenian gene-

* Hæc extrema fuit ætas imperatorum Atheniensium, Iphicratis, Chabriæ, Timothei: neque post Cor. Nep. in Timoth. c. 4.

P 3

rals, who did honour to their country; no one after

them being diffinguished by merit or reputation.

(s) CHABRIAS had already acquired a great name, when having been fent against the Spartans to the aid of the Thebans, and seeing himself abandoned in the battle by the allies, who had taken to slight, he sustained alone the charge of the enemy; his soldiers, by his order, having closed their files with one knee upon the ground covered with their bucklers, and presented their pikes in front, in such a manner, that they could not be broke, and Agesilaus, though victorious, was obliged to retire. The Athenians erected a statue to Chabrias in the attitude he had fought.

IPHICRATES was of very mean extraction, his father having been a shoemaker. But in a free city like Athens merit was the sole nobility. This perfon may be truly said to be the son of his actions. Having signalized himself in a naval combat, wherein he was only a private soldier, he was soon after employed with distinction, and honoured with a command. In a prosecution carried on against him before the judges, his accuser, who was one of the descendants of Harmodius, and made very great use of his ancestor's name, having reproached him with the baseness of his birth; Yes, replied he, The nobility of any family begins in me: That of yours ends in you. He married the daughter of Cotys, king of Thrace.

(t) He is * ranked with the greatest men of Greece, especially in what regards the knowledge of war and military discipline. He made several useful alterations in the soldiers armour. Before him, the bucklers were very long and heavy, and for that reason, were too great a burden, and extremely troublesome: He had them made shorter and lighter, so that, with-

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⁽s) Cor. Nep. in Chab. c. 1. Nep. in Iphic. c. 1.

^{*} Iphicrates Atheniensis, non tam magnitudine rerum gestarum, quam disciplina militari nobilitatus est. Fuit enim talis dux, ut non

⁽t) Diod. 1. 15. p. 360. Cor.

folum ætatis fuæ cum primis compararetur, fed ne de majoribus natu quidem quifquam anteponeretur. Cor. Nep.

out exposing the body, they added to its force and agility. On the contrary, he lengthened the pikes and swords, to make them capable of reaching the enemy at a greater distance. He also changed the cuirasses, and instead of iron and brass, of which they were made before, he caused them to be made of stax. It is not easy to conceive how such armour could defend the soldiers, or be any security against wounds. But that slax being soaked in vinegar, mingled with salt, was prepared in such a manner, that it grew hard, and became impenetrable either to sword or fire. The use of it was common amongst several nations.

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No troops were ever better exercised or disciplined than those of Iphicrates. He kept them always in action, and in times of peace and tranquillity, made them perform all the necessary evolutions, either in attacking the enemy, or defending themselves; in laying ambuscades, or avoiding them; in keeping their ranks even in the pursuit of the enemy, without abandoning themselves to an ardour which often becomes pernicious, or to rally with fuccess after having begun to break and give way. So that when battle was to be given, all was in motion with admirable promptitude and order. The officers and foldiers drew themselves up without any trouble, and even in the heat of action performed their parts, as the most able general would have directed them. A merit very rare, as I have been informed, but very estimable; as it contributes more than can be imagined to the gaining of a battle, and implies a very uncommon superiority of genius in the general.

Timotheus was the fon of Conon, fo much celebrated for his great actions, and the important services he had rendered his country. * He did not degene-

Timotheus Cononis filius, cum belli laude non inferior fuisset quam pater, ad eam laudem doctrinæ et ingenii gloriam adjecit. Cic. l. 1. de offic. n. 116.

^{*} Hic à patre acceptam gloriam multis auxit virtutibus. Fuit enim difertus, impiger, laboriofus, rei militaris peritus, neque minùs civitatis regendæ. Cor. Nep. c. 1.

rate from his father's reputation, either for his merit in the field, or his ability in the government of the state: but he added to those excellencies, the glory which refults from the talents of the mind, having diffinguished himself particularly by the gift of elo-

quence, and a tafte for the sciences.

(u) No captain at first ever experienced less than himself the inconstancy of the fortune of war. He had only to undertake an enterprize, to accomplish it. Success perpetually attended his views and desires. Such uncommon prosperity did not fail to excite jealoufy. Those who envied him, as I have already obferved, caused him to be painted asleep, with Fortune by him taking cities for him in nets. Timotheus retorted coldly, If I take places in my fleep, what shall I do when I am awake? He took the thing afterwards more feriously, and angry with those who pretended to lessen the glory of his actions, declared in public that he did not owe his success to fortune, but to himself. That goddess, says Plutarch, offended at his pride and arrogance, abandoned him afterwards entirely, and he was never successful afterwards. Such were the chiefs employed in the war of the allies.

(x) The war and the campaign opened with the fiege of Chio. Chares commanded the land, and Chabrias the fea, forces. All the allies exerted themfelves in fending aid to that island. Chabrias, having forced the passage, entered the port, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the enemy. The other gallies were afraid to follow, and abandoned him. He was immediately furrounded on all fides, and his veffel exceedingly damaged by the affaults of the enemy. He might have faved himself by swimming to the Athenian fleet, as his foldiers did; but from a mistaken principle of glory, he thought it inconfistent with the duty of a general to abandon his veffel in fuch a man-

(x) Diod. 1. 16. p. 412. Cor. Nep. in

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⁽u) Plut. Sylla. 454. Chab. c. 4.

mer, and preferred a death glorious in his fense, to a

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This first attempt having miscarried, both sides applied themselves vigorously to making new preparations. The Athenians fitted out a fleet of fixty gallies, and appointed Chares to command it, and armed fixty more under Iphicrates and Timotheus. The fleet of the allies confisted of an hundred fail. After having ravaged feveral islands belonging to the Athenians, where they made a great booty, they fat down before Samos. The Athenians on their fide, having united all their forces, befieged Byzantium. lies made all possible haste to its relief. The two fleets being in view of each other prepared to fight, when fuddenly a violent form arose, notwithstanding which, Chares resolved to advance against the enemy. The two other captains, who had more prudence and experience than him, thought it improper to hazard a battle in such a conjuncture. Chares. enraged at their not following his advice, called the foldiers to witness, that it was not his fault they did not fight the enemy. He was naturally vain, oftentatious, and full of himself; one who exaggerated his own fervices, depreciated those of others, and arrogated to himself the whole glory of successes. wrote to Athens against his two collegues, and accused them of cowardice and treason. Upon his complaint, the people, * capricious, warm, suspicious, and naturally jealous of fuch as were diffinguished by their extraordinary merit or authority, recalled those two generals, and brought them to a trial.

The faction of Chares, which was very powerful at Athens, having declared against Timotheus, he was fentenced to pay a fine of an hundred talents †; a worthy reward for the noble difinterestedness he had shewn upon another occasion, in bringing home to

^{*} Populus acer, suspicax, mobilis, adversarius, invidus etiam

potentiæ, domum revocat. Cor.

⁺ An hundred thousand crozons.

his country twelve hundred talents || of booty taken from the enemy, without the least deduction for himfelf. He could bear no longer the fight of an ungrateful city, and being too poor to pay so great a fine, retired to Chalcis. After his death, the people touched with repentance, mitigated the fine to ten talents, which they made his son Conon pay, to rebuild a certain part of the walls. Thus, by an event sufficiently odd, those very walls, which his grandfather had rebuilt with the spoils of the enemy, the grandson, to the shame of Athens, repaired in part at his own expence.

(y) Iphicrates was also obliged to answer for himself before the judges. It was upon this occasion, that Aristophon, another Athenian captain, accused him of having betrayed and sold the fleet under his command. Iphicrates, with the confidence an established reputation inspires, asked him, Would you have committed a treason of this nature? No, replied Aristophon, I am a man of too much honour for such an action! How, replied Iphicrates, Could Iphicrates do

what Aristophon would not do?

(x) He did not only employ the force of arguments in his defence, he called in also the assistance of arms. Instructed by his collegue's ill success, he saw plainly that it was more necessary to intimidate than convince his judges. He posted round the place where they affembled a number of young persons, armed with poignards, which they took care to shew from time to time. They could not resist so forcible and triumphant a kind of eloquence, and dismissed him acquitted of the charge. When he was afterwards reproached with so violent a proceeding; I had been a fool indeed, said he, if having made war successfully for the Athenians, I had neglected doing so for myself.

Chares, by the recal of his two collegues, was left fole general of the whole army, and was in a condi-

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⁽y) Arist. Rhet. l. 2. c. 23. (z) Polyæn. Stratag. l. 3. Twelve bundred thousand crowns.

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tion to have advanced the Athenian affairs very much in the Hellespont, if he had known how to resist the magnificent offers of Artabasus. That viceroy, who had revolted in Asia minor against the king of Perha his mafter, befieged by an army of seventy thoufand men, and just upon the point of being ruined from the inequality of his forces, corrupted Chares. That general, who had no thoughts but of enriching himself, marched directly to the assistance of Artabasus, effectually relieved him, and received a reward The action of Chares was fuitable to the fervice. treated as a capital crime. He had not only abandoned the service of the republic for a foreign war, but offended the king of Perfia, who threatened by his ambassadors to equip three hundred sail of ships in favour of the islanders allied against Athens. The credit of Chares faved him again upon this, as it had done several times before upon like occasions. The Athenians intimidated by the king's menaces, applied themselves seriously to prevent their effects by a general peace.

Prior to these menaces, Isocrates had earnestly recommended this treaty to them in a fine discourse (a), which is still extant, wherein he gives them excellent advice. He reproaches them with great liberty, as does Demosthenes in almost all his orations, of abandoning themselves blindly to the infinuations of orators, who flatter their passions, whilst they treat those with contempt, who give them the most salutary counsels. He applies himself particularly to correct in them their violent passion for the augmentation of their power, and dominion over the people of Greece. which had been the fource of all their misfortunes. He recals to their remembrance those happy days, so glorious for Athens, in which their ancestors, out of a noble and generous difinterestedness, sacrificed every thing for the support of the common liberty, and the preservation of Greece, and compares them with the

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⁽a) De pace, seu socialis.

present sad times, wherein the ambition of Sparta, and afterwards that of Athens, had fucceffively plunged both states into the greatest misfortunes. He represents to them, that the real and lasting greatness of a state does not confift in augmenting its dominions, or extending its conquests to the utmost, which cannot be effected without violence and injustice; but in the wife government of the people, in rendering them happy, in protecting their allies, in being beloved and esteemed by their neighbours, and feared by their enemies. A flate, fays he, cannot fail of becoming the arbiter of all its heighbours, when it knows how to unite in its measures the two great qualities, justice and power, which mutually support each other, and ought to be inseparable. For as power, not regulated by the motives of reason and justice, has " recourse to the most violent methods to crush and se fubvert whatever opposes it; so justice, when unee armed and without power, is exposed to injury. and neither in a condition to defend itself, nor protect others." The conclusion drawn by Ifocrates from this reasoning, is, That Athens, if it would be happy, and in tranquillity, ought not to affect the empire of the sea for the sake of lording it over all other states; but should conclude a peace, whereby every city and people should be left to the full enjoyment of their liberty; and declare themselves irreconcileable enemies of those who should presume to disturb that peace, or contravene fuch meafures.

(b) The peace was concluded accordingly under fuch conditions, and it was stipulated, that Rhodes, Byzantium, Chio, and Cos, should enjoy entire liberty. The war of the allies ended in this manner

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after having continued three years.

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⁽b) A. M. 3648, Ant. J. C. 356.

SECT. III. Demosthenes encourages the Athenians, alarmed by the preparations of Artaxerxes for war. He harangues them in favour of the Megalopolitans, and afterwards of the Rhodians. Death of Mausolus. Extraordinary grief of Artemisa his wife.

(c) THIS peace did not entirely remove the apprehension of the Athenians with regard to the king of Persia. The great preparations he was making gave them umbrage, and they were asraid so formidable an armament was intended against Greece, and that Egypt was only a plausible pretext with which

the king covered his real defign.

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Athens took the alarms upon this rumour. orators increased the fears of the people by their difcourses, and exhorted them to have an immediate recourse to their arms, to prevent the king of Persia by a previous declaration of war, and to make a league with all the people of Greece against the common enemy. Demosthenes made his first appearance in public at this time, and mounted the tribunal for harangues to give his opinion. He was twenty eight years of age. I shall speak more extensively of him in the conclusion of this volume. Upon the present occasion, more wise than those precipitate orators, and having undoubtedly in view the importance to the republic of the aid of the Persians against Philip, he dared not indeed oppose in a direct manner their advice, lest he should render himself suspected; but, admitting as a principle from the first, that it was necessary to consider the king of Persia as the eternal enemy of Greece, he represented that it was not confiftent with prudence, in an affair of fuch great confequence, to precipitate any thing; that it was very improper by a refolution taken upon light and uncertain reports, and by a too early declaration of war, to furnish so powerful a prince with a just reason to turn his arms against Greece; that all which was ne-

⁽c) A. M. 3649. Ant. J. C. 355.

ceffary at present, was to fit out a fleet of three hundred fail, (in what manner he proposed a * scheme,) and to hold the troops in a readiness and condition to make an effectual, and vigorous defence in cafe of being attacked; that by fo doing, all the people of Greece, without farther invitation, would be fufficiently apprized of the common danger to join them : and that the report alone of fuch an armament would be enough to induce the king of Persia to change his measures, admitting he should have formed any defigns against Greece.

For the rest, he was not of opinion, that it was neceffary to levy an immediate tax upon the effates of private persons for the expence of this war, which would not amount to a great fum, nor fuffice for the occasion. "It is better, said he, to rely upon the ee zeal and generolity of the citizens. Our city may be faid to be almost as rich as all the other cities of Greece together. (He had before observed, that the estimate of the lands of Attica amounted to fix. thousand talents, (about eight hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling.) When we shall see the c reality and approach of the danger, every body will be ready to contribute to the expences of the war: as no body can be so void of reason as to prefer the hazard of losing their whole estate with their " liberty, to facrificing a small part of it to their 66 own, and their country's prefervation.

"And we ought not to fear, as some people would " infinuate, that the great riches of the king of Per-" fia enable him to raise a great body of auxiliaries. and render his army formidable against us. Our Greeks, when they are to march against Egypt, or Orontes and the other Barbarians, serve willingis ly under the Persians; but not one of them, I

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^{*} I reserve this scheme for the manner the Athenians fitted out, and of the volume, being curious, and subsisted their fleets. and very proper to explain in what

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Persians and Grecians. 327

dare be affured, not a fingle man of them, will

" ever refolve to bear arms against Greece.

This discourse had all its effect. The refined and delicate address of the orator in advising the imposition of a tax to be deserred, and artfully explaining at the same time that it would fall only upon the rich, was highly proper to render abortive an affair, which had no other soundation than in the overheated imaginations of some orators, who were perhaps interested in

the war they advised.

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(f) Two years after, an enterprize of the Lacedæmonians against Megalopolis, a city of Arcadia, gave. Demosthenes another opportunity to signalize his zeal, and display his eloquence. That city, which had been lately established by the Arcadians, who had settled a numerous colony there from different cities, and which might serve as a fortress and bulwark against Sparta, gave the Lacedæmonians great uneasiness, and alarmed them extremely. They resolved therefore to attack and make themselves masters of it. The Megalopolitans, who, without doubt, had renounced their alliance with Thebes, had recourse to Athens, and implored its protection: the other people concerned fent also their deputies thither, and the affair was debated before the people.

(g) Demosthenes founded his discourse from the beginning of it upon this principle; that it was of the last importance to prevent either Sparta or Thebes from growing too powerful, and from being in a condition to give the law to the rest of Greece. Now it is evident, that if we abandon Megalopolis to the Lacedæmonians, they will will soon make themselves masters of Messene also, two strong neighbouring cities, which are a check upon Sparta, and keep it within due bounds. The alliance we shall make with the Arcadians, in declaring for Megalopolis, is therefore the certain means to preserve so necessary a balance

(g) Demost, orat. pro Megalop.

⁽f) A. M. 3651. Ant. J. C. 353. Diod. 1. 15. p. 401.

between Sparta and Thebes; because whatever haps pens, neither the one nor the other will be able to hurt us, whilst the Arcadians are our allies, whose forces, in conjunction with ours, will always be superior to those of either of them.

A weighty objection to this advice of Demosthenes, was the alliance actually subfifting between Athens and Sparta. For, in fine, faid the orators who opposed Demosthenes, what idea will the world have of Athens, if we change in fuch a manner with the times, or is it confistent with justice to pay no regard to the faith of treaties? "We ought, (replied Demosthenes, whose very words I shall repeat in this place) " We * ought indeed always to have justice in view, " and to make it the rule of our conduct; but at " the same time, our conformity to it should consist " with the public good and the interest of the state." It has been a perpetual maxim with us to affift the oppressed. (He cites the Lacedæmonians themselves, the Thebans and Euboeans as examples.) We have never varied from this principle. The reproach of changing therefore ought not to fall upon us, but upon those, whose injustice and usurpation oblige us to declare against them.

I admire the language of politicians. To hear them talk, it is always reason and the strictest justice that determine them; but to see them act, makes it evident that interest and ambition are the sole rule and guide of their conduct. Their discourse is an effect of that regard for justice which nature has implanted in the mind of man, and which they cannot entirely shake off. There are sew who venture to declare against that internal principle in their expressions, or to contradict it openly. But there are also sew, who observe it with sidelity and constancy in their actions. Greece never was known to have more treaties of alliance than at the time we are now speaking of,

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^{*} Δεῖ σκοπεῖν μθρ ἀεὶ κὸ πράτθειν τὰ δίκαια· συμπαρατης εῖν δὲ,

^{*} Ti before.

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nor were they ever less regarded. This contempt of the religion of oaths in states is a proof of their decline, and often denotes and occasions their approaching ruin.

(b) The Athenians, moved by the eloquenttdifcourse of Demosthenes, sent three thousand foot; and three hundred horse to the aid of the Megalopolitans, under the command of * Pammenes. Megalopolis was re-instated in its former condition, and its inhabitants, who had retired into their own countries, were

obliged to return.

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The peace, which had put an end to the war of the allies, did not procure for all of them the tranquillity they had reason to expect from it. The people of Rhodes and Cos, who had been declared free by that treaty, only changed their master. Mausolus king of Caria, who had affisted them in throwing off the Athenian yoke, imposed his own upon them. Having publickly declared himself for the rich and powerful, he enslaved the people, and made them suffer exceedingly. He died the second year after the treaty of peace, having reigned twenty four years. (i) Artemisa his wife succeeded him, and as she was supported with all the influence of the king of Persia, she retained her power in the isles lately subjected.

In speaking here of Artemisa, it is proper to obferve, that she must not be consounded with another Artemisa, who lived above an hundred years before, in the time of Xerxes, and who distinguished her resolution and prudence so much in the naval battle of Salamin. Several celebrated writers have fallen into

this error, through inadvertency.

(k) This princes immortalized herself by the honours she rendered to the memory of Mausolus her husband. She caused a magnificent monument to be

⁽b) Diod. p. 402. (i) A. M. 3650. Ant. J. C. 354. Diode. 16. p. 435. (k) Plin. l. 36. c. 5.

^{*} This is not the Pammenes of Thebes, of whom mention has been made before.

erected for him in Halicarnassus, which was called the Mausolæum, and for its beauty was esteemed one of the wonders of the world, and gave the name of Mausolæum to all future great and magnificent struc-

tures of the fame kind.

(1) She endeavoured also to eternize the name of Mausolus by other monuments, which she believed more durable than those of brass or marble, but are often no better proof against the injuries of time; I mean works of wit. She caused excellent panegyrics to be made in honour of her husband, and proposed a prize of great value for the person whose performance should be the best. Amongst many others, the celebrated Isocrates, and Theopompus, his disciple, were competitors for it.

Theopompus carried it from them all, and had the weakness and vanity to boast in public of having gained the prize against his master; preferring, as is too common, the same of sine parts to the glory of a good heart. He had represented Mausolus in his history as a prince most fordidly avaritious, to whom all means of amassing treasure were good and eligible. He painted him without doubt in very different colours in his panegyric, or else he would never have pleased the

princess.

(m) That illustrious widow prepared a different tomb for Mausolus, than that I have been speaking of. Having gathered his ashes, and had the bones beaten in a mortar, she mingled some of the powder every day in her drink, till she had drank it all off; desiring by that means to make her own body the sepulchre of her husband. She survived him only two years, and her grief did not end but with her life.

Instead of tears, in which most writers plunge Artemisa during her widowhood, there are some who say she made very considerable conquests. (n) It ap-

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⁽¹⁾ Aul. Gel. l. 10. c. 13. Plut. in Isocrat. p. 838. (m) Cic. Tuic. Quaest. l. 3. n. 75. Val. Max. l. 4. c. 6. (n) Dernost. de abertat. Rhod. p. 145.

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pears by one of Demosthenes's orations, that she was not confidered at Athens as a forlorn relict, who neglected the affairs of her kingdom. But we have fomething more decifive upon this head. (a) Vitruvius tells us, that after the death of Maufolus, the Rhodians, offended that a woman should reign in Caria, undertook to dethrone her. They left Rhodes for that purpose with their fleet, and entered the great port of Halicarnaffus. The queen being informed of their defign, had given the inhabitants orders to keep within the walls, and when the enemy should arrive, to express by shouts and clapping of hands a readiness to surrender the city to them. The Rhodians quitted their ships, and went in all haste to the public place, leaving their fleet without any to guard it. In the mean time, Artemifa came out with her gallies from the little port through a small canal, which she had caufed to be cut on purpose, entered the great port, seized the enemies fleet without refiftance, and having put her foldiers and mariners on board of it, she fet fail. The Rhodians, having no means of escaping, were all put to the fword. The queen all the while advanced towards Rhodes. When the inhabitants faw their vessels approach, adorned with wreaths of laurel, they raised great shouts, and received their victorious and triumphant fleet with extraordinary marks of joy. It was so in effect, but in another sense than they imagined. Artemifa, having met with no refistance, took possession of the city, and put the principal inhabitants to death. She caused a trophy of her victory to be erected in it, and fet up two statues of brass; one of which represented the city of Rhodes, and the other Artemisa branding it with a hot iron. Vitruvius adds, that the Rhodians dared never demolish that trophy, their religion forbidding it; but they furrounded it with a building which prevented it entirely from being feen.

All this, as Monsieur Bayle observes in his dictio-

⁽⁰⁾ Vitruv. de Architect, l. 2, c. 8.

nary, does not express a forlorn and inconsolable widow, that passed her whole time in grief and lamentation; which makes it reasonable to suspect, that whatever is reported of excessive in the mourning of Artemisa, has no other soundation, but its being advanced at a venture by some writer, and afterwards copied by all the rest.

I should be better pleased, for the honour of Artemisa, if it had been said, as there is nothing incredible in it, that by a fortitude and greatness of mind, of which her sex has many examples, she had known how to unite the severe affliction of the widow with the active courage of the queen, and made the affairs of her government serve her instead of consolation.

(p) Negotia pro solatiis accipiens.

(q) The Rhodians being treated by Artemisa in the manner we have related, and unable to support any longer fo fevere and shameful a servitude, they had recourse to the Athenians, and implored their protection: Though they had rendered themselves entirely unworthy of it by their revolt, Demosthenes took upon him to speak to the people in their behalf. He began with fetting forth their crime in its full light; he enlarged upon their injustice and perfidy; he seemed to enter into the people's just fentiments of refentment and indignation, and it might have been thought, was going to declare himself in the strongest terms against the Rhodians: But all this was only the art of the orator, to infinuate himself into his auditors opinion, and to excite in them quite contrary fentiments of goodness and compassion for a people, who acknowledged their fault, who confessed their unworthiness, and who nevertheless were come to implore the republic's protection. He fets before them the great maxims, which in all ages had conflituted the glory of Athens; the forgiving of injuries, the pardoning of rebels, and the taking upon them the defence he and tance cratic island substantiberty

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⁽P) Tacit. (9) A. M. 3653. Ant. J. C. 351. Demost. de

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(t) Diod, l. 16. p. 439. Sueradala

fence of the unfortunate. To the motives of glory, he annexes those of interest; in shewing the importance of declaring for a city, that favoured the democratic form of government, and of not abandoning an island so powerful as that of Rhodes: which is the fubstance of Demosthenes's discourse, intitled, For the

liberty of the Rhodians.

(r) The death of Artemisa, which happened the fame year, it is very likely, re-established the Rhodians in their liberty. She was succeeded by her brother Idrizeus, who espoused his own sister Ada, as Mausolus had done Artemisa. It was the custom in Caria for the kings to marry their fifters in this manner, and for the widows to succeed their husbands in the throne in preference to the brothers, and even the children of the defunct.

SECT. IV. Successful expedition of Ochus against Phænicia, and Cyprus, and afterwards against Egypt.

(5) CHUS meditated in earnest the reduction of Egypt to its obedience, which had long pretended to maintain itself in independance. Whilst he was making great preparations for this important expedition, he received advice of the revolt of Phænicia. (t) That people oppressed by the Persian governors, refolved to throw off so heavy a yoke, and made a league with Nectanebis king of Egypt, against whom Persia was marching its armies. As there was no other passage for that invasion but through Phænicia. this revolt was very feafonable for Nectanebis, who therefore fent Mentor the Rhodian to support the rebels, with four thousand Grecian troops. He intended by that means to make Phœnicia his barrier, and to stop the Persians there. The Phænicians took the field with that re-inforcement, beat the governors of Syria and Cilicia, that had been fent against them. and drove the Persians entirely out of Phœnicia.

⁽r) Strab. 1. 14. p. 656. (s) A. M. 3653. Ant. J. C. 3514

(u) The Cyprians, who were not better treated than the Phœnicians, feeing the good fuccess which had attended this revolt, followed their example, and joined in their league with Egypt. Ochus fent orders to Idrizeus king of Caria, to make war against them; who foon after fitted out a fleet, and fent eight thousand Greeks along with it, under the command of Phocion the Athenian, and Evagoras, who was believed to have been the fon of Nicocles. It is probable that he had been expelled by his uncle Protagoras, and that he had embraced with pleasure this opportunity of re-ascending the throne. His knowledge of the country and the party he had there, made the king of Persia choose him very wisely to command in this expedition. They made a defcent in the island, where their army encreased to double its number by the re-inforcements which came from Svria and Cilicia. The hopes of enriching themselves by the spoils of this island, that was very rich, drew thither abundance of troops, and they formed the fiege of Salamin by fea and land. The island of Cvprus had at that time nine cities, confiderable enough to have each of them a petty king. But all those kings were however subjects of Persia. They had upon this occasion united together to throw off that yoke, and to render themselves independant.

Ochus, having observed that the Egyptian war was always unsuccessful from the ill conduct of the generals sent thither, he resolved to take the care of it upon himself. But before he set out, he signified his defire to the states of Greece, that they would put an end to their divisions, and cease to make war upon

one another.

It is a just matter of surprize, that the court of Perfia should insist so earnestly and so often, that the people of Greece should live in tranquillity with each other, and observe inviolably the articles of the treaty of Antalcides, the principal end of which was the esta-

(u) Ibid. 1, 16, p. 440, 441.

blifhm former the mi der X means Persian the me fiderab fons of were p against and me cularly times f lance a of any

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Its din difativalour, emulating glory attion are and in people, and which

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blishment of a lasting union amongst them. It had formerly employed a quite different policy. From the miscarriage of the enterprize against Greece under Xerxes, judging gold and filver a more proper means for fubjecting it than that of the fword, the Persians did not attack it with open force, but by the method of fecret intrigues. They conveyed confiderable fums into it privately, to corrupt the perfons of credit and authority in the great cities, and were perpetually watching occasions to arm them against each other, and to deprive them of the leisure and means to invade themselves. They were particularly careful to declare fometimes for one, fometimes for another, in order to support a kind of ballance amongst them, which put it out of the power of any of those republics to aggrandize itself too much, and by that means to become formidable to Perfia.

That nation employed a quite different conduct at this time, in prohibiting all wars to the people of Greece, and commanding them to observe an univerfal peace, upon pain of incurring their displeasure and arms, to fuch as fhould difobey. Persia without doubt did not take that refolution at a venture, and had its reasons to behave in such a manner with re-

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Its defign might be to fosten their spirit by degrees. in difarming their hands; to blunt the edge of that valour, which spurred them on perpetually by noble emulation; to extinguish in them their passion for glory and victory; to render languid, by long inertion and forced ease, the activity natural to them; and in fine, to bring them into the number of those people, whom a quiet and effeminate life enervates, and who lose in sloth and peace that martial ardor, which combats and even dangers are apt to inspire.

The king of Persia who then reigned had a personal interest, as well as his predecessor, in imposing these terms upon the Greeks. Egypt had long thrown off the

the yoke, and given the empire just cause of inquietude. Ochus had resolved to go in person to reduce the rebels. He had the expedition extremely at heart, and neglected nothing that could promote its success. The famous retreat of the ten thousand, without enumerating many other actions of a like nature, had lest a great idea in Persia of the Grecian valour. That prince relied more upon a small body of Greeks in his pay, than upon the whole army of the Persians, as numerous as it was; and he well knew, that the intestine divisions of Greece would render the cities incapable of supplying the number of soldiers he had occasion for.

In fine, as a good politician, he could not enter upon action in Egypt, till he had pacified all behind him, Ionia especially, and its neighbouring provinces. Now the most certain means to hold them in obedience, was to deprive them of all hope of aid from the Greeks, to whom they had always recourse in times of revolt, and without whom they were in no condition to form any great enterprizes (u).

When Ochus had taken all his measures, and made the necessary preparations, he repaired to the frontiers of Phoenicia, where he had an army of three hundred thousand foot, and thirty thousand horse, and put himself at the head of it. Mentor was at Sidon with the Grecian troops. The approach of so great an army staggered him, and he sent secretly to Ochus, to make him offers not only of surrendering Sidon to him, but to serve him in Egypt, where he was well acquainted with the country, and might be very useful to him. Ochus agreed entirely to the proposal, upon which he engaged Tennes king of Sidon in the same treason, and they surrendered the place in concert to Ochus.

The Sidonians had fet fire to their ships upon the approach of the king's troops, in order to lay the people under the necessity of making a good defence,

(#) Diod. l. 16. p. 441-443.

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by removing all hope of any other fecurity. When they faw themselves betrayed, that the enemy were masters of the city, and that there was no possibility of escaping either by sea or land, in the despair of their condition, they shut themselves up in their houses, and fet them on fire. Forty thousand men, without reckoning women and children, perished in this manner. The fate of Tennes their king was no better. Ochus, feeing himself master of Sidon, and having no farther occasion for him, caused him to be put to death; a just reward of his treason, and an evident proof, that Ochus did not yield to him in perfidy. At the time this misfortune happened, Sidon was immensely rich. The fire having melted the gold and filver, Ochus fold the cynders for a confiderable sum of money.

The dreadful ruin of this city cast so great a terror into all the rest of Phoenicia, that it submitted, and obtained conditions reasonable enough from the king, Ochus made no great difficulty in complying with their demands, because he would not lose the time there, he had so much occasion for in the exe-

Before he began his march to enter it, he was joined by a body of ten thousand Greeks. From the beginning of this expedition he had demanded troops in Greece. The Athenians and Lacedæmonians had excused themselves from furnishing him any at that time; it being impossible for them to do it, whatever desire they might have, as they said, to cultivate a good correspondence with the king. The Thebans sent him a thousand men under the command of Lathares: the Argives three thousand under Nicostratus. The rest came from the cities of Asia. All these troops joined him immediately, after the taking of Sidon.

of the Phoenicians against Persia. For Sidon was no

⁽x) Solin. c. 35. Euseb, in Chron. &c.

fooner taken, than Ochus entered Judæa, and befieged the city of Jericho, which he took. Besides which, it appears that he carried a great number of Tewish captives into Egypt, and fent many others into Hyrcania, where he fettled them along the coast

of the Caspian sea.

(v) Ochus also put an end to the war with Cyprus at the same time. That of Egypt so entirely engrosfed his attention, that in order to have nothing to divert him from it, he was fatisfied to come to an accommodation with the nine kings of Cyprus, who fubmitted to him upon certain conditions, and were all continued in their little states. Evagoras demanded to be re-instated in the kingdom of Salamin. It was evidently proved, that he had committed the most flagrant oppressions during his reign, and that he had not been unjustly dethroned. Protagoras was therefore confirmed in the kingdom of Salamin, and the king gave Evagoras a remote government. He behaved no better in that, and was again expelled. He afterwards returned to Salamin, and was feized, and put to death. Surprizing difference between Nicocles and his fon Evagoras!

(z) After the reduction of the ifle of Cyprus, and the province of Phœnicia, Ochus advanced at length

towards Egypt:

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Upon his arrival, he encamped before Pelusium, from whence he detached three bodies of his troops, each of them commanded by a Greek and a Persian with equal authority. The first was under Dachares the Theban, and Rosaces governour of Lydia and Ionia. The fecond was given to Nicostratus the Argive, and Ariffazanes one of the great officers of the crown. A The third had Mentor the Rhodian and Bagoas one of Ochus's eunuchs at the head of it. Each detachment had its particular orders. The king remained with the main body of the army in the camp he had made choice of at first, to wait events,

(2) Diod. l. 16. p. 443. (2) Ibid. p. 444 & 450.

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and to be ready to support those troops in case of ill success, or to improve the advantages they might

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Nectanebis had long expected this invasion, the preparations for which had made fo much noise. He had an hundred thousand men on foot, twenty thoufand of whom were Greeks, twenty thousand Lybians, and the rest of Egyptian troops. Part of them he bestowed in the places upon the frontiers, and posted himself with the rest in the passes, to dispute the enemy's entrance into Egypt. Ochus's first detachment was fent against Pelusium, where there was a garrison of five thousand Greeks. Lachares befieged the place. That under Nicostratus, on board of four and twenty ships of the Persian fleet, entered one of the mouths of the Nile at the same time, and failed into the heart of Egypt, where they landed. and fortified themselves well in a camp, of which the fituation was very advantagious. All the Egyptian troops in these parts were immediately drawn together under Clinias, a Greek of the isle of Cos, and prepared to repel the enemy. A very warm action enfued, in which Clinias with five thousand of his troops were killed, and the rest entirely broke and dispersed.

This action decided the fuccess of the war. Nectanebis, apprehending that Nicostratus after this victory would embark again upon the Nile, and take Memphis the capital of the kingdom, made all the haste he could to defend it, and abandoned the passes, which it was of the last importance to secure, to prevent the entrance of the enemy. When the Greeks that defended Pelusium were apprized of this precipitate retreat, they believed all lost, and capitulated with Lachares, upon condition of being sent back into Greece with all that belonged to them, and without suffering any injury in their persons or

effects.

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Mentor, who commanded the third detachment, finding the passes clear and unguarded, entered the country, and made himself master of it without any opposition. For, after having caused a report to be foread throughout his camp, that Ochus had ordered all those who would submit, to be treated with favour, and that fuch as made refistance should be destroyed, as the Sidonians had been; he let all his prisoners escape, that they might carry the news into the country round about. Those poor people reported in their towns and villages what they had heard in the enemy's camp. The brutality of Ochus feemed to confirm it, and the terror was fo great, that the garrifons, as well Greeks as Egyptians, strove which should be the foremost in making their submission.

(a) Nectanebis, having loft all hope of being able to defend himself, escaped with his treasures and best effects into Æthiopia, from whence he never returned. He was the last king of Egypt of the Egyptian race, fince whom it has always continued under a foreign yoke, according to the prediction of

Ezekiel (b).

Ochus, having entirely conquered Egypt in this manner, difmantled the cities, pillaged the temples, and returned in triumph to Babylon, laden with spoils, and especially with gold and silver, of which he carried away immense sums. He left the government of it to Pherendates, a Persian of the first quality.

(c) Here Manethon finishes his commentaries, or history of Egypt. He was a priest of Heliopolis in that country, and had wrote the history of its different dynasties from the commencement of the nation to the times we now treat of. His book is often cited by Josephus, Eusebius, Plutarch, Porphyry, and feveral others. This historian lived in the reign of Ptolemæus Philadelphus king of Egypt, to whom he

(c) Syncel, p. 256. Voff, de hift, Græc, l. 1, c. 14.

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⁽a) A. M. 3654. Ant. J. C. 350. (b) Ezek. xxix. 14, 15.

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Nectanebis loft the crown by his too good opinion of himself. He had been placed upon the throne by Agefilaus, and afterwards supported in it by the valour and counsels of Diophantes the Athenian, and Lamius the Lacedæmonian, who, whilst they had the command of his troops and the direction of the war, had rendered his arms victorious over the Persians in all the enterprizes they had formed against him. is a pity we have no account of them, and that Diodorus is filent upon this head. That prince, vain from fo many fuccesses, imagined in consequence, that he was become sufficiently capable of conducting his own affairs in person, and dismissed them to whom he was indebted for all those advantages. He had time enough to repent his error, and to discover that the power does not confer the merit of a king.

(d) Ochus rewarded very liberally the service which Mentor the Rhodian had rendered him in the reduction of Phænicia, and the conquest of Egypt. Before he left that kingdom, he had dismissed the other Greeks laden with his presents. As for Mentor, to whom the whole success of the expedition was principally owing, he not only made him a present of an hundred talents † in money, besides many jewels of great value, but gave him the government of all the coast of Asia, with the direction of the war against some provinces, which had revolted in the beginning of his reign, and declared him generalissimo of all his

armies on that fide.

Mentor made use of his interest to reconcile the king with his brother Memnon, and Artabasus, who had married their sister. Both of them had been in arms against Ochus. We have already related the re-

⁽d) A. M. 3655. Ant. J. C. 349.

^{*} George, a monk of Constanti- Tarasus, towards the end of the nople, so called from his being Syncellus, or vicar to the patriarch

† An hundred thousand crowns.

volt of Artabasus, and the victories he obtained over the king's troops. He was however overpowered at laft, and reduced to take refuge with Philip king of Macedon; and Memnon, who had borne a part in his wars, had also a share in his banishment. After this reconciliation, they rendered Ochus and his fuccessors signal services; especially Memnon, who was one of the most valiant men of his times, and no less excellent in the art of war. Neither did Mentor want his great merits, nor deceive the king in the confidence he had reposed in him. For he had scarce taken possession of his government, when he re-establ fhed every where the king's authority, and reduced those who had revolted in his neighbourhood to return to their obedience. Some he brought over by his address and stratagems, and others by force of In a word, he knew fo well how to take his advantages, that at length he subjected them all to the yoke, and re-instated the king's affairs in those provinces.

(e) The first year of the 108th olympiad died Plato, the famous Athenian philosopher. I shall defer speaking of him at present, that I may not interrupt the chain of the history.

SECT. V. Death of Ochus. Arses succeeds him, and is succeeded by Darius Codomanus.

(f) OCHUS, after the conquest of Egypt, and reduction of the revolted provinces of his empire, abandoned himself to pleasure and luxurious ease during the rest of his life, and lest the care of affairs entirely to his ministers. The two principal of them were the eunuch Bagoas and Mentor the Rhodian, who divided all power between them, so that the first had all the provinces of the upper, and the latter all those of the lower Asia under him.

(g) After having reigned twenty three years, O-(e A. M. 3656. Ant. J. C. 348. (f) Died. l. 16. p. 490. (g) A. M. 3666. Ant. J. C. 338. nucl tain on. felf, fofte ther talit rega

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chus died of poison given him by Bagoas. That eunuch, who was by birth an Egyptian, had always retained a love for his country, and a zeal for its religion. When his master conquered it, he slattered himself, that it would have been in his power to have softened the destiny of the one, and protected the other from insult. But he could not restrain the brutality of his prince, who acted a thousand things in regard to both, which the eunuch saw with extreme sorrow, and always violently resented in his heart.

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Ochus not contented with having difmantled the cities, and pillaged the houses and temples, as has been faid, had besides taken away all the archives of the kingdom, which were deposited, and kept with religious care in the temples of the Egyptians, and in (h) derision of their worship, he had caused the god Apis to be killed, that is, the facred bull which they adored under that name. What gave occasion for this last action was, (i) that Ochus being as lazy and heavy as he was cruel, the Egyptians, from the first of those qualities, had given him the shocking sirname of the stupid animal, they found he refembled. Violently enraged at this affront, Ochus faid that he would make them fensible he was not an ass but a lion, and that the ass, whom they dispised so much, should eat their ox. Accordingly he ordered Apis to be dragged out of his temple, and facrificed to an ass. After which he made his cooks dress, and serve him up to the officers of his houshold. This piece of wit incenfed Bagoas. As for the archives he redeemed them afterwards, and fent them back to the places where it was the custom to keep them: But the affront, which had been done to his religion, was irreparable; and it is believed, that was the real occasion of his master's death.

(k) His revenge did not stop there, he caused another body to be interred instead of the king's, and to

⁽b) Ælian. l. 4. c. 8. (i) Plut. de Isid. & Osir. p. 363.

avenge his having made the officers of the house eat the god Apis, he made cats eat his dead body, which he gave them cut in small pieces; and for his bones, those he turned into handles for knives and swords, the natural symbols of his cruelty. It is very probable, that some new cause had awakened in the heart of this monster his antient resentment; without which, it is not to be conceived, that he could carry his harbarity so far in regard to his master and benefactor.

After the death of Ochus, Bagoas, in whose hands all power was at that time, placed Arses upon the throne, the youngest of all the late king's sons, and put the rest to death, in order to possess with better fecurity, and without a rival, the authority he had usurped. He gave Arses only the name of king, whilst he reserved to himself the whole power of the sovereignty. But perceiving that the young prince began to discover his wickedness, and took measures to punish it, he prevented him by having him assaffinated, and destroyed his whole samily with him.

Bagoas, after having rendered the throne vacant by the murder of Arses, placed Darius upon it, the third of that name who reigned in Persia. His true name was Codomanus, of whom much will be said here-

after.

We fee here in a full light the sad effect of the ill policy of the kings of Persia, who to ease themselves of the weight of publick business, abandoned their whole authority to an eunuch. Bagoas might have more address and understanding than the rest, and thereby merit some distinction. It is the duty of a wise prince to distinguish merit; but it is as consistent for him to continue always the entire master, judge, and arbiter of his affairs. A prince, like Ochus, that had made the greatest crimes his steps for ascending the throne, and who had supported himself in it by the same measures, deserved to have such a minister as Bagoas, who vyed with his master in persist.

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fidy and cruelty. Ochus experienced their first effects. Had he desired to have nothing to sear from him, he should not have been so imprudent to render him formidable, by giving him an unlimited power.

SECT. VI. Abridgment of the life of Demosthenes to his appearance with honour and applause in the public assemblies against Philip of Macedon.

AS Demosthenes will have a great part in the hiftory of Philip of Alexander, which will be the
subject of the ensuing volume, it is necessary to give
the reader some previous idea of him, and to let him
know by what means he cultivated, and to what a
degree of persection he carried, his talent of eloquence;
which made him more awful to Philip and Alexander,
and enabled him to render greater services to his country, than the highest military virtue could have done.

(1) That orator born * two years before Philip, and two hundred and fourfcore before Cicero, was not the fon of a dirty smoaky blacksmith as + Juvenal would feem to intimate, but of a man moderately rich, who got considerably by forges. Not that the birth of Demosthenes could derogate in the least from his reputation, whose works are an higher title of nobility than the most splendid the world affords. (m) Demosthenes tells us himself, that his father employed thirty flaves at his forges, each of them valued at three minæ, or fifty crowns; two excepted, who were without doubt the most expert in the business, and directed the work, ond those were each of them worth an hundred crowns. It is well known that part of the wealth of the antients confifted in flaves. forges, all charges paid, cleared annually thirty minæ, that is, fifteen hundred crowns. To this first manu-

⁽¹⁾ A. M. 3623. Ant. J. C. 381. Plut. in Demost. p. 847— 849. (m) In orat. 1. cont. Aphob. p. 896.

^{*} The fourth year of the ninety ninth olympiad.

[†] Quem pater ardentis masse suligine lippus,
A carbone et sorcipibus, gladiosque parant:
Incude, et luteo Vulcano ad rhetora misst. Juv. 1. 4. Sat. to:
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factory, appropriated to the forging of swords and such kind of arms, he added another, wherein beds and tables of fine wood and ivory were made, which brought him in yearly twelve minæ. In this only twenty slaves were employed, each of them valued at

two minæ, or an hundred livres (n).

Demosthenes's father died possessed of an estate of sourteen talents (0). He had the missortume to fall into the hands of sordid and avaritious guardians, who had no views but of making the most out of his fortume. They carried that base spirit so far as to resuse their pupil's masters the reward due to them: So that he was not educated with the care, which so excellent a genius as his required; besides which, the weakness of his constitution, and the delicacy of his health, with the excessive fondness of a mother that doated upon him, prevented his masters from obliging him to apply much to his studies.

The school of Isocrates* in which so many great men had been educated, was at that time the most famous at Athens But whether the avarice of Demosthenes's guardians prevented him from improving under a master, whose price was very high (p), or that the soft and peaceful eloquence of Isocrates was not to his taste at that time he studied under Isaus, whose character was strength and vehemence. He sound means however to get the principles of rhetoric taught by the sormer: But † Plato in reality contributed the most in forming Demosthenes; he read his works with great application, and received lessons from him also; and it is easy to distinguish in the writings of the disciple the noble and sublime air of the master.

(n) About 4 l. 10 s. (o) Fourteen hundred crowns. (p) About 22 l. 10 s.

granditate fermonis. Cic. in Brut.

Illud jusjurandum, per cæscs in Marathone ac Salamine propugnatores Reip. satis manifestò docet, præceptorem ejus Platonem suisse. Quint. l. 12. c. 10,

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^{*} Isocrates—cujus è ludo, tanquam ex equo Trojano, innumeri principes exierunt. De Orat. n. 94.

[†] Lectitavisse Platonem studiose, audivisse eti m, Demosthenes dicitur: idque apparet ex genere et

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(9) But he foon quitted the schools of Isaus and Plato for another, under a different kind of direction; I mean, to frequent the bar, of which this was the occasion. The orator Callistratus was appointed to plead the cause of the city Oropus, situated between Bœotia and Attica. Chabrias, having disposed the Athenians to march to the aid of the Thebans, who were in great diffress, they hastened thither and delivered them from the enemy. The Thebans, for getting fo great a fervice, took the town of Oropus, which was upon their frontier, from the Athenians. (r) Chabrias was suspected, and charged with treafon upon this occasion. Callistratus was chosen to plead against him. The reputation of the orator, and the importance of the cause excited curiofity, and made a great noise in the city. (s) Demosthenes, who was then fixteen years of age, earnestly entreat? ed his mafters to carry him with them to the bar, that he might be prefent at so famous a trial. The orator was heard with great attention, and having had extraordinary fuccess, was attended home by a crowd of illustrious citizens, who seemed to vye with each other in praising and admiring him. The young man was extremly affected with the honours, which he faw paid to the orator, and still more with the supreme power of eloquence over the minds of men, over which it exercises a kind of absolute power. He was himself sensible of its effects, and not being able to refift its charms, he gave himfelf wholly up to it, from thenceforth renounced all other studies and pleasures, and during the continuance of Calliffratus at Athens. he never quitted him, but made all the improvement he could from his precepts.

The first essay of his eloquence was against his guardians, whom he obliged to refund a part of his fortune. Encouraged by this success, he ventured to speak before the people, but with very ill success He had a weak voice, a thick way of speaking, and

⁽⁷⁾ Aul. Gel. l. 3. c. 13. (7) Demost. in Midi. p. 613. (2) A. M. 3639. Ant. J. C. 365.

a very short breath; notwithstanding which, his periods were so long, that he was often obliged to stop in the midst of them for respiration. This occasioned his being hissed by the whole audience; from whence he retired entirely discouraged, and determined to renounce for ever a function of which he believed himself, incapable. One of his auditors, who had observed an excellent fund of genius in him, and a kind of eloquence which came very near that of Pericles, gave him new spirit from the grateful idea of so glorious a resemblance, and the good advice which he added to it.

He ventured therefore to appear a second time before the people, and was no better received than before. As he withdrew, hanging down his head and in the utmost confusion, Satyrus, one of the most excellent actors of those times, who was his friend, met him, and having learnt from himself the cause of his being so much dejected, he assured him that the evil was not without remedy, and that the case was not fo desperate as he imagined. He defired him only to repeat some of Sophocles or Euripides's verses to him; which he accordingly did. Satyrus spoke them after him, and gave them such graces by the tone, gefture, and spirit, with which he pronounced them, that Demosthenes himself found them quite different from what they were in his own manner of speaking. He perceived plainly what he wanted, and applied himself to the acquiring of it.

His efforts to correct his natural defect of utterance, and to perfect himself in pronunciation, of which his friend had made him understand the value, seem almost incredible, and prove, that an industrious perseverance can surmount all things. (t) He stammered to such a degree, that he could not pronounce some letters, amongst others, that with which the name of the art * he studied begins; and he was so short-breathed, that he could not utter a whole period without stopping. He overcame these obstacles at length

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⁽t) Cic. l. 1. de orat. n. 260, 261. * Rhetoric.

by putting small pebbles into his mouth, and pronouncing several verses in that manner without interruption; and that walking, and going up steep and disficult places, so that at last, no letter made him hesitate, and his breath held out through the longest periods. (x) He went also to the sea-side, and whilst the waves were in the most violent agitation, he pronounced harangues to accustom himself by the confused noise of the waters, to the roar of the people, and the tumultuous cries of public assemblies.

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of his voice. He had a large looking-glass in his house, which served to teach him gesture, and at which he used to declaim, before he spoke in public. To correct a fault, which he had contracted by an ill habit of continually shrugging his shoulders, he practised standing upright in a kind of very narrow pulpit or rostrum, over which hung a halbard in such a manner, that is in the heat of action that motion escaped him, the point of the weapon might serve at the same time to admonish and correct him.

His pains were well bestowed; for it was by this means, that he carried the art of declaiming to the highest degree of persection of which it was capable; whence, it is plain he well knew its value and importance. When he was asked three several times which quality he thought most necessary in an orator, he gave no other answer than Pronunciation; infinuating by making that reply * three times successively, that qualification to be the only one, of which the want could be least concealed, and which was the most capable of concealing other desects; and that pronunciation alone could give considerable weight even to an indifferent orator, when without it, the most excellent could not hope the least success. He

⁽x) Quintil. 1. 10. c. 3. (y) Id. l. 11. c. 3.

^{*} Actio in dicendo una dominatur. Sine hac fummus orator effe in numero nullo potest: mediocris, hac instructus summos sæpe superare. Huic primas dedisse De-

mosthenes dicitur, cum rogaretur quid in dicendo esset primum; huic secundas, huic tertias. Cic. de orat. 1. 3. n. 213.

must have had a very high opinion of it, as to attain a perfection in it, and for the instruction of Neoptolemus, the most excellent comedian then in being, he devoted to confiderable a forn as ten thousand drach-

mas (y), though he was not very rich

eld bus , cor. His application to fludy was no less furprizing. To be the more removed from neife, and less subject to diffraction, he caused a small chamber to be made for him under-ground, in which he that himfelf up formetimes for whole months, shaving on purpose half his head and face, that he might not be in a condition to go abroad. It was there, by the light of a small lamp, he composed the admirable orations, which were fald by those who envied him to smell of the oil; to imply that they were too elaborate. "It is st plain," replied he, " yours did not cost you fo " much trouble." * He rose very early in the morning, and used to fay, that he was forry when any workman was at his business before him. (2) We may judge of his extraordinary efforts to acquire an excellence of every kind, from the pains he took in cobying Thucydides's history eight times with his own hand, in order to render the stile of that great man familiar to him.

Demosthenes, after having exercised his talent of eloquence in feveral private causes, made his appearance in full light, and mounted the tribunal of harangues, to treat there upon the public affairs; with what fuccess we shall see hereaster. Cicero + tells us that fuccess was so great, that all Greece came in crowds to Athens to hear Demosthenes speak; and he adds, that merit, fo great as his, could not but have had that effect. I do not examine in this place into the character of his eloquence (a); I have enlarged

non modo ita memoriæ proditum effe, fed ita necesse fuiffe, cum Demofthenes dicturus effet, ut concursus, audiendi causa, ex tota Græcia fierent, In Brut. n. 239.

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⁽y) About 240 l. Sterling. (2) Lucian. ad vers. indoct. p. 639. (a) Art of studying the Belles Let. Vol. II.

^{*} Cui non funt auditæ Demo-Ahenes vigiliæ? qui dalere se aiebat, si quando opificum antelucana victus effet induttria. Tufc. Quaft. J. 4. n. 44.

^{*} Ne illud quidem intelligunt,

fufficiently upon that elsewhere; I only consider its wonderful effects.

If we may believe Philip upon this head, of which he is certainly an evidence of unquestionable authority, (b) the eloquence of Demostheres alone did him more hurt than all the armies and fleets of the Athe-His harangues, he faid, were like machines of war, and batteries raifed at a distance against him: by which he overthrew all his projects, and ruined his enterprizes, without its being possible to prevent their effect. For I myself, says Philip of him, had I been present, and heard that vehement orator declaim. should have concluded the first, that it was indispenfably necessary to declare war against me. No city feemed impregnable to that prince, provided he could introduce a mule laden with gold into it: but he confessed, that to his forrow, Demosthenes was invincible in that respect, and that he always found him inaccessible to his presents. Ater the battle of Charonea, Philip though victor was ftruck with extreme dread at the prospect of the great danger, to which that orator, by the powerful league he had been the fole cause of forming against him, exposed himself and his kingdom.

(c) Antipater spoke to the same effect of him. I value not, faid he, the Piræus, the gallies, and armies of the Athenians: For what have we to fear from a people continually employed in games, feafts, and Bacchanals? Demosthenes alone gives me pain. Without him the Athenians differ in nothing from the meanelt people of Greece. He alone excites and animates them. It is he that rouzes them from their lethargy and stupefaction, and puts their arms and oars into their hands almost against their will: incessantly reprefenting to them the famous battles of Marathon and Salamin, he transforms them into new men by the ardor of his discourses, and inspires them with incredible valour and fortitude. Nothing escapes his penetrating eyes, nor his confummate prudence. He

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⁽b) Lucian. in encom. Demost. p. 940, 941. (c) Ibid. p. 934, 936. forelees

foresees all our designs, he countermines all our projects, and disconcerts us in every thing; and did Athens entirely confide in him, and wholly follow his advice, we were undone without remedy. Nothing can tempt him, nor diminish his love for his country. All the gold of Philip finds no more access to him, than that of Persia did formerly to Aristides.

He was reduced by necessity to give this glorious testimony for himself in his just defense against Æschlnes his accuser and declared enemy. "Whilst all the orators have suffered themselves to be corrupted by the prefents of Philip and Alexander, it is well " known," fays he, " that neither delicate conjunc-" tures, engaging expressions, magnificent promises, hope, fear, favour, any thing in the world have ever been able to induce me to give up the least " right or interest of my country." He adds, that instead of acting like those mercenary persons, who, in all they proposed, declared for such as paid them best, like scales, that always incline to the side from whence they receive most; he, in all the counsels he had given, had folely in view the interest and glory of his country, and that he had always continued inflexible and incorruptible to the Macedonian gold. The feguel will shew how well he supported that character to the end.

Such was the orator who is about to ascend the tribunal of harangues, or rather the statesman to enter upon the administration of the public affairs, and to be the principle and soul of all the great enterprizes

of Athens against Philip of Macedon.

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SECT. VII. Digression upon the manner of sitting out sleets by the Athenians, and the exemptions and other marks of honour granted by that city to such as had rendered it great services.

THE subject of this digression ought properly to have had place in that part of the preceding volume, where I have treated the government and maritime affairs of the Athenians. But at that time, I

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had not the orations of Demosthenes which speak of them in my thoughts. It is a deviation from the chain of the history which the reader may easily turn over, if he thinks fit.

The word Trierarchs (d) fignifies no more in itself than commanders of gallies. But those cities were also called Trierarchs who were appointed to fit out the gallies in time of war, and to furnish them with all things necessary, or at least with part of them.

Theh were chosen out of the richest of the people, and there was no fixed number of them. Sometimes two, sometimes three, and even ten Trierarchs were

appointed to equip one vessel.

(e) At length the number of Trierarchs was established at twelve hundred in this manner. Athens was divided into ten tribes. An hundred and twenty of the richest citizens of each tribe were nominated to surnish the expences of these armaments; and thus each tribe, surnishing six score, the number of the Trierarchs amounted to twelve hundred.

Those twelve hundred men were again divided into two parts, of fix hundred each; and those fix hundred subdivided into two more, each of three hundred. The first three hundred were chosen from amongst such as were richest. Upon pressing occasions they advanced the necessary expences, and were reimbursed by the other three hundred, who paid their propor-

tion, as the state of their affairs would admit.

A law was afterwards made, whereby those twelve hundred were divided into different companies, each consisting of fixteen men, who joined in the equipment of a galley. That law was very heavy upon the poorer citizens, and equally unjust at bottom; as it decreed that this number of fixteen should be chosen by their age, and not their estates. It ordained that all citizens from twenty five to forty should be included in one of these companies, and contribute one fixteenth; so that by this law the poorer citizens

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⁽d) Tpinporpx .

⁽e) Ulpian. in Olynth, 2. p. 33.

were to contribute as much as the most opulent, and often found it impossible to supply an expence so much above their power. From whence it happened, that the sleet was either not armed in time or very ill sitted out; by which means Athens lost the most

favourable opportunities for action.

(f) Demosthenes, always intent upon the public good, to remedy these inconveniences, proposed the abrogation of this law by another. By the latter, the Trierarchs were to be chosen, not by the number of their years, but the value of their fortunes. Each citizen, whose estate amounted to ten talents*, was obliged to fit out one galley, and if to twenty talents, two; and so on in proportion. Such as were not worth ten talents, were to join with as many others as were necessary to compleat that sum, and to fit out a galley.

Nothing could be wifer than this law of Demofithenes, which reformed all the abuses of the other. By these means the sleet was sitted out in time, and provided with all things necessary; the poor were considerably relieved, and none but the rich displeased with it. For instead of contributing only a fixteenth, as by the first law, they were sometimes obliged by the second to equip a galley, and sometimes two or more, according to the amount of their estates.

The rich were in consequence very much offended at Demosthenes upon this regulation; and it was without doubt an instance of no small courage in him to difregard their complaints, and to hazard the making himself as many enemies, as there were powerful citizens in Athens. Let us hear himself. "(g) Secing," says he, speaking to the Athenians, "your maritime affairs in the greatest decline, the rich possessed of an immunity purchased at a very low rate, the citizens of middle or small fortunes eat up with taxes, and the republic itself, in conse(f) Demost in orat de classib. (g) Demost pro Ctessp. p. 419.

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^{*} Ten thousand crowns.

" quence of these inconveniencies, never attempting " any thing till too late for its service; I had the " courage to establish a law, whereby the rich are restrained to their duty, the poor relieved from opor preffion, and what was of the highest importance, the republic enabled to make the necessary prepa-" rations of war in due time." He adds, that there was nothing the rich would not have given him to forbear the proposing of this law, or at least to have fuspended its execution: but he did not fuffer himself to be fwayed either by their threats or promifes, and continued firm to the public good.

Not having been able to make him change his resolution, they contrived a stratagem to render it inessectual. For it was without doubt at their infligation, that a certain person, named Patroclus, cited Demosthenes before the judges, and profecuted him juridically as an infringer of the laws of his country. The accuser having only the fifth part of the voices on his fide, was according to custom fined five hundred drachmas*, and Demosthenes acquitted of the

charge; who relates this circumstance himself.

It is doubtful, whether at Rome, especially in the latter times, the affair would have taken this turn. For we fee, that whatever attempts were made by the tribunes of the people, and to whatever extremity the quarrel rofe, it never was possible to induce the rich, who were far more powerful and enterprizing than those of Athens, to renounce the possession of the lands, which they had usurped in manifest contravention of the inflitutions of the state. The law of Demosthenes was approved and confirmed by the fenate and people.

We find from what has been faid, that the Trierarchs fitted out the gallies and their equipage at their own expence. The flate paid the mariners and foldiers, generally at the rate of three Oboli, or five pence a day, as has been observed elsewhere.

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The Trierarch commanded the vessel, and gave all orders on board. When there were two of them

to a ship, each commanded fix months.

When they quitted their office, they were obliged to give an account of their administration, and delivered a state of the vessel's equipage to their successor, or the republic. The successor was obliged to go immediately and fill up the vacant place; and if he sailed to be at his post by a time assigned him, he was fined for his neglect.

As the charge of Trierarch was very expensive, those who were nominated to it, were admitted to point out some other person richer than themselves, and to demand that they should be put into their place; provided they were ready to change estates with such person, and to act in the sunction of Trierarch after such exchange. This law was instituted by Solon, and was called the law of exchanges.

Besides the equipment of gallies, which must have amounted to very great sums, the rich had another charge to support in the time of war; that was the extraordinary taxes and imposts laid on their estates; upon which, sometimes the hundredth, sometimes a sistieth, and even a twelsth were levied, according to

the different occasions of the state.

(h) Nobody at Athens, upon any pretence whatfoever, could be exempted from these two charges, except the *Novemviri*, or nine Archontes, who were not obliged to fit out gallies. So that we see, without ships or money, the republic was not in a condition, either to support wars, or defend itself.

There were other immunities and exemptions, which were granted to such as had rendered great services to the republic, and sometimes even to all their descendants: for as maintaining public places of exercise with all things necessary for such as frequented them; instituting a public feast for one of the ten tribes; and desraying the expences of games and shews; all which amounted to great sums,

(b) Demoft. ad verf. Lept. p. 545.

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These immunities, as has already been said, were marks of honour and rewards of services rendered the state; as well as statues which were erected to great men, the freedom of the city, and the privilege of being maintained in the Prytaneum at the public expence. The view of Athens in these honourable distinctions was to express their high sense of gratitude, and to kindle at the same time in the hearts of their citizens a noble thirst of glory, and an ardent love for their country.

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Besides the statues erected to Harmodius and Aristogiton, the deliverers of Athens, their descendants were for ever exempted from all public employments, and enjoyed that honourable privilege many ages after.

(i) As Aristides died without any estate, and lest his son Lysimachus no other patrimony but his glory and poverty, the republic gave him an hundred acres of wood, and as much of arable land in Eubæa, besides an hundred minæ * at one payment, and sour drachmas or forty pence a day.

(k) Athens in the services which were done it, regarded more the good will than the action it felf. A certain person of Cyrene, named Epicerdus, being at Syracuse when the Athenians were defeated, touched with compassion for the unfortunate prisoners dispersed in Sicily, whom he faw ready to expire for want of food, distributed an hundred minæ amongst them. that is, about two hundred and forty pounds. Athens adopted him into the number of its citizens, and granted him all the immunities before mentioned. Some time after in the war against the thirty tyrants. the same Epicerdus gave the city a talent. † Thefe were but small matters on either occasion with regard to the grandeur and power of Athens; but they were infinitely affected with the good heart of a stranger, who without any view of interest, in a time of public calamity, exhausted himself in some measure for

⁽i) Demost. in orat. ad Lep. p. 558. (k) Ibid. 757.

^{*} Twenty-two pounds ten shillings, + A thousand crowns.

the relief of those, with whom he had no affinity, and

from whom he had nothing to expect.

(1) The fame freedom of the city of Athens granted an exemption from customs, to Leucon, who reigned in the Bosphorus, and his children, because they yearly imported from the lands of that prince a confiderable quantity of corn, of which they were in extreme want, sublifting almost entirely upon what came from other parts. Leucon, in his turn, not to be outdone in generofity, exempted the Athenian merchants from the duty of a thirtieth upon all grain exported from his dominions, and granted them the privilege of supplying themselves with corn in his country in preference to all other people. That exemption amounted to a confiderable fum. For they brought only from thence two millions of quarters of corn, of which the thirtieth part amounted to almost seventy thousand.

The children of Conon and Chabrias were also granted an immunity from public offices. The names only of those illustrious generals sufficiently justify that liberality of the Athenian people. A person however, called Leptinus, out of a mistaken zeal for the public good, proposed the abrogation by a new law of all the grants of that kind, which had been made from immemorial time; except those which regarded the posterity of Harmodius and Aristogiton; and to enact that for the suture the people should not

be capable of granting fuch privileges.

Demosthenes strongly opposed this law, though with great complacency to the person who proposed it; praising his good intentions, and not speaking of him but with esteem; a much more essications manner of resuting, than those violent invectives, and that eager and passionate style, which serve only to alienate the people, and to render an orator suspected, who decries his cause himself, and shews its weak side, by substituting injurious terms for reasons, which are alone capable of convincing.

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⁽¹⁾ Demost. in orat. ad Lep. p. 545. 546.

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After having shewn, that so odious a reduction would prove of little or no advantage to the republic, from the inconsiderable number of the exempted perfons; he goes on to explain its inconveniences, and to set them in a full light.

" It is first, says he, doing injury to the memory of those great men, whose merit the state intended " to acknowledge and reward by fuch immunities; " it is in some manner calling in question the fer-" vices they have done their country; it is throwing a suspicion upon their great actions, injurious " to, if not destructive of, their glory. And were "they now alive and present in this affembly, which of " us all would prefume to offer them fuch an affront? "Should not the respect we owe their memories make us confider them as always alive and prefent? But if we are little affected with what concerns them, can we be insensible to our own interest? "Besides that cancelling so ancient a law is to con-66 demn the conduct of our ancestors, what shame " shall we bring upon ourselves, and what an injury 66 shall we do our reputation? The glory of Athens " and of every well-governed state, is to value itself " upon its gratitude, to keep its word religiously, and 66 to be true to all its engagements. A private perfon that fails in these respects, is hated and ab-"horred; and who is not afraid of being reproached " with ingratitude? And shall the common wealth, " in cancelling a law that has received the fanction of public authority, and being in a manner confe-" crated by the usage of many ages, be guilty of so notonious a prevarication? We prohibit lying in "the very markets under heavy penalties, and re-" quire truth and faith to be observed in them; and " fhall we renounce them ourselves by the revocation of grants, passed in all their forms, and upon which every private man has a right to infift.

"To act in fuch a manner, would be to extinguish in the hearts of our citizens all emulation for

" glory,

comploits, all zeal for the honour and welfare of their country; which are the great fources and principles of almost all the actions of life. And it is to no purpose to object the example of Sparta and Thebes, which grant no such exemptions:

To we repent our not resembling them in many things; and is there any wisdom in proposing their defects, not their virtues, for our imitation?"

Demosthenes concludes with demanding the law of exemptions to be retained in all its extent, with this exception, that all persons should be deprived of the benefits of it, but those who had a just title to them; and that a strict enquiry should be made for that purpose.

It is plain that I have only made a very flight extract in this place of an exceeding long discourse, and that I designed to express only the spirit and sense, without confining my self to the method and expres-

fions of it.

There was a meanness of spirit in Leptinus's desiring to obtain a trivial advantage for the republic, by retrenching the moderate expences that were an honour to it, and no charge to himself, whilst there were other abuses of far greater importance to reform.

Such marks of publick gratitude perpetuated in a family, perpetuate also in a state an ardent zeal for its happiness, and a warm desire to distinguish that passion by glorious actions. It is not without pain I find amongst ourselves, that part of the privileges granted to the family of the Maid of Orleans, have been retrenched. (m) Charles VII. had ennobled her, her father, three brothers, and all their descendants, even by the semale line. In 1614, at the request of the attorney-general, the article of nobility by the women was retrenched.

(m) Mezerai.

3 AP 65